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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

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ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES

INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE

EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. XIII.

London :

J. R. SMITH, 36, SOHO SQUARE,

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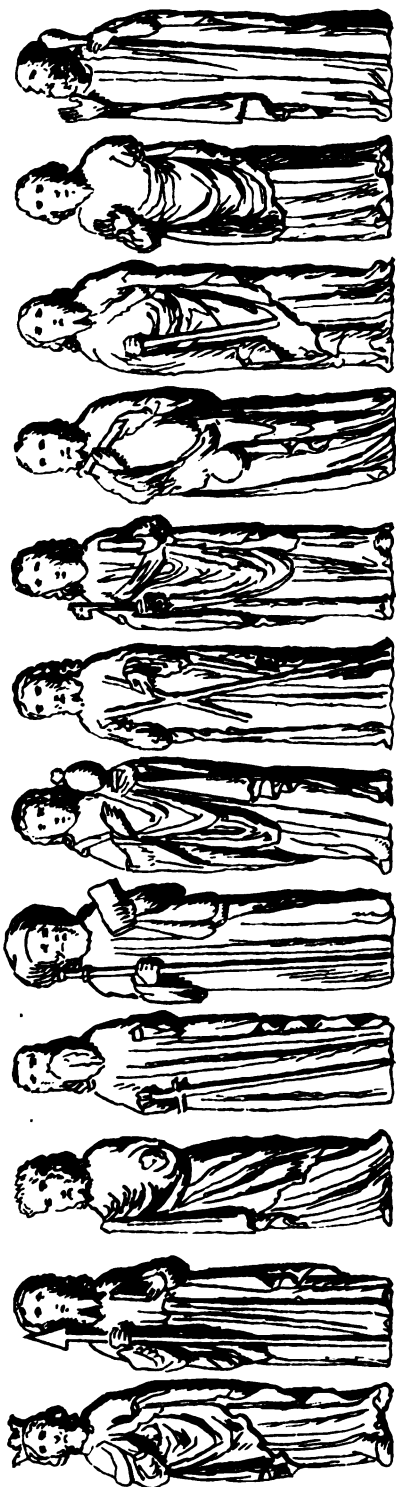
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12 Statues called the Apostles

From Carters etchings
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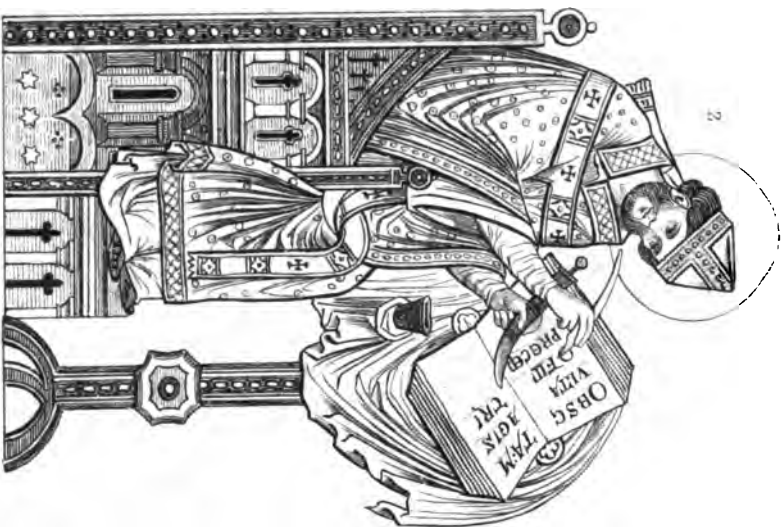
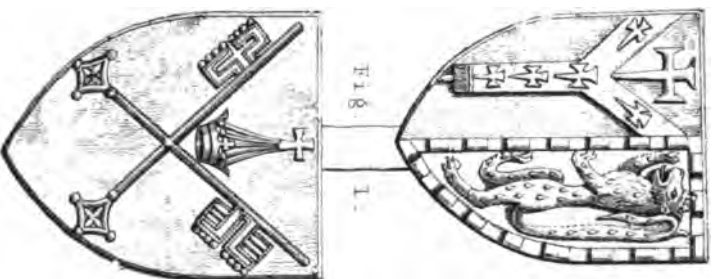


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Seal of Archbishop Waldsey.



St. Dunstan, wearing the Pallium from a M.S. of the 13th Century. Royal M.S. 10 A. 13.



St. Augustin, wearing the Pallium from a M.S. of the 10th Century. Harl. M.S. 2808.



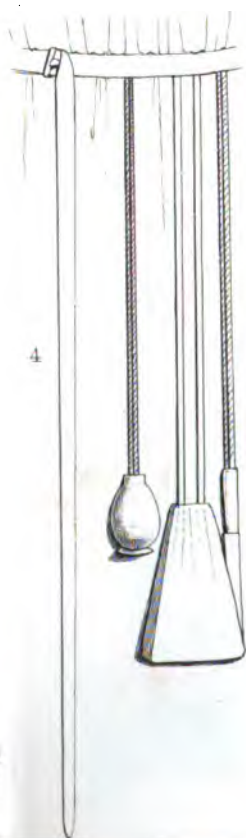
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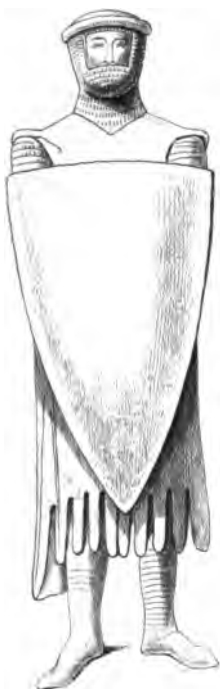


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Powell 1810

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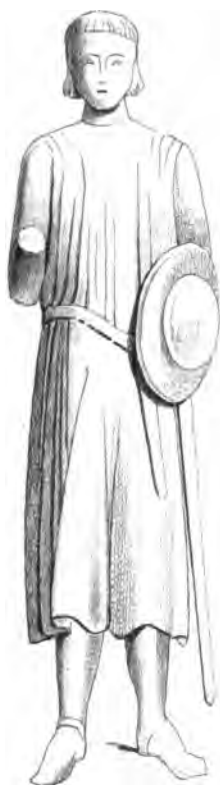
Powell 1810

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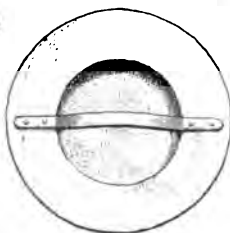


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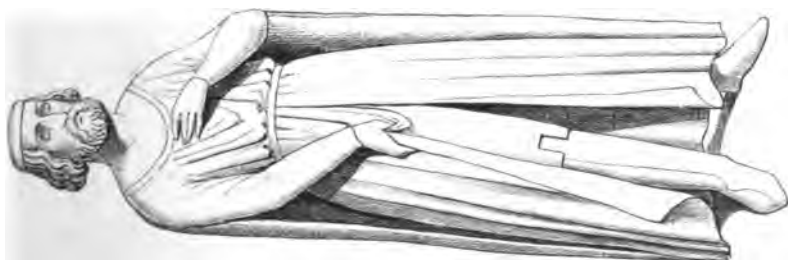
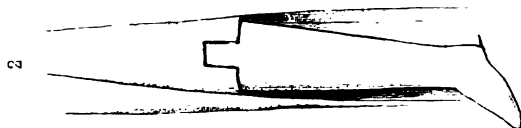


3





From Carters etchings Wells Cathedral 1784-6.



1



2



5



3



4



Statue at Exeter Cathedral
from a Photograph.

Statue at Exeter Cathedral
as etched by Carter.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

MARCH 1857.

ON THE STATUARY OF THE WEST FRONT OF WELLS CATHEDRAL.

BY J. B. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., ROUGE CROIX, HON. SEC.

THE west front of the cathedral of Wells has for centuries been an object of universal admiration, and of late years the subject of some controversy and much speculation. In attempting a description of such portions of its ornamentation as my particular studies have rendered most interesting to me, I have discovered with as much regret as alarm that I must inevitably come into such direct collision with one of the most highly esteemed authorities on such subjects, that one of us must "go to the wall"; and as, in so many respects, I feel I am "the weakest", my recollection of the proverb is by no means consolatory. On the other hand, should I, by the establishment of facts, be fortunate enough to make good my position, I fear that no mode of expression in my power will render palatable what I have to say to a writer who expresses such conviction of the strength of his own. I have studied with the greatest attention and interest the elaborate description of the iconography of Wells cathedral, published by professor Cockerell,¹ and adorned with several very beautiful if not very accurate lithographic illustrations. I have carefully compared that description, and those illustrations, with the observations and drawings

¹ The Iconography of Wells Cathedral, by Charles Robert Cockerell, R.A. 4to. London and Oxford, 1851.

of preceding antiquaries and architects; checked by my own notes and unartistic sketches made upon the spot during our late Congress, as well as by the casts and photographic representations I have since been enabled to examine or procure. I am willing to go quite as far as the learned professor in my laudation of the skill, taste, and knowledge, displayed in the design and execution of the celebrated statues which decorate the whole west front of that magnificent edifice; but when he calls upon me to recognize, not only in those statues which do exist, but in those which have long since disappeared, a regular chronological series of sovereigns, prelates, and soldiers, whom he is adventurous enough to name, my admiration of his ingenuity is only surpassed by my astonishment at the confidence with which he appears to expect the world to subscribe to his opinion.

Before, however, I commence my description of these statues, there is one important architectural question which I must entreat you to bear in mind, vitally affecting Mr. Cockerell's general view of the subject. It is that of the date of erection of that particular part of the cathedral in which these statues are placed. Upon the vague expressions of an anonymous canon of Wells, who wrote in the fifteenth century, and the later and more precise assertions of bishop Godwin in the sixteenth, Mr. Cockerell assumes, as an unquestionable fact, that the west front, with its flanking towers and the whole of the statuary which ornaments it, was erected at the expense, and under the direction, of bishop Joceline Trotman, who re-dedicated the building in 1239. He does not, in the slightest degree, allude to the modestly expressed doubt of our respected friend, Mr. Britton, though he duly acknowledges the precious character of the work that venerable antiquary has favoured us with on Wells cathedral; nor to the sweeping assertion of another great authority, professor Willis, who pronounced it to be impossible that bishop Joceline could have built the west front; though it is obvious, that if of later date, that prelate's religious opinions could not have influenced the sculptor; and if of earlier, to which Mr. Britton inclines, the sculptor himself could not have executed the statues of kings and bishops who had not at that period ascended their thrones, or

taken possession of their sees: and so minutely particularized and so nicely balanced are Mr. Cockerell's materials, that, remove but the smallest stone of the structure his luxuriant fancy has erected, the whole edifice must crumble to pieces. It is upon the assumption that such a statue represents such a monarch or bishop, that he founds his opinions of those which are grouped, as he imagines, around it. Take away the crown, or transfer the mitre, and the whole company of attendants vanish. Whether even, granting for the sake of argument, his date be correct, I shall not be able to do this, remains to be proved; but in any case I trust it will be conceded to me that I have but one motive in this investigation,—the establishment of truth, and but one feeling,—that of the highest respect for the talent and character of the gentleman who has displayed so much erudition, industry, and enthusiasm, in pursuit of the same object.

Having called your attention to the important question at issue amongst architects, and on which I am not competent to express the slightest opinion, I will not take up your time by the repetition of speculations,—for they can amount to no more in our present state of information,—but proceed at once to apply to this noble gallery of statues a test by which, singularly enough, they have never yet been tried,—that of costume; of which the majority present the most interesting examples, regal, ecclesiastic, military, and civil, as prevailing in England during the latter half of the twelfth century. The earliest author who notices these statues is William of Worcester, who, in his *Itinerary*, written about 1450, says that in the north-west part of the cathedral there are three large buttresses with three rows of large statues representing the old law; that in the west front there are six large and high buttresses with three rows of large statues of the new law; and that in the west and north (south?) part of the said church are two large buttresses, sixty feet high, with three rows of sculpture and large statues, of the new law.¹ This

¹ "Memorandum quod in occidentali et boreali parte ecclesiæ principalis Sanctæ Andree sunt tres magnæ botterasses cum tribus ordinibus magnorum ymaginum de veteri lege.

"Et in plana occidentali ecclesiæ sunt sex magnæ et altæ botterasses scitæ, ad latitudinem sex pedum et densitudinem circa trium virgarum cum tribus ordinibus magnarum ymaginum de nova lege sculptarum.

"Et in occidentali et boreali (meridionali vel australi?) parte dictæ ecclesiæ

description is general, confused, and incorrect; but it is remarkable that, as by the old and new law he must surely have meant the Old and New Testament, he makes no allusion whatever to the statues of sovereigns, princesses, prelates, or knights, of Anglo-Saxon or Norman lineage; and can only be supposed to refer to the *two*, not *three*, intermediate tiers, in which subjects from the Scriptures are sculptured within quatrefoils, and the resurrection is illustrated in ninety-two compartments. Yet these statues are small compared with those we are at present about to examine, and of which there did exist three complete tiers in his time. Fuller, in his *Worthies*, simply speaks in general terms of the "imagery" of the west front as a masterpiece of art ("vera et spirantia signa"): and as neither the canon of Wells nor bishop Godwin allude to the statues,¹ we are left entirely in ignorance of the original idea of the designer, and without any clue to the persons intended to be represented, beyond what is furnished to us by the garments they wear, or the symbols they carry.

The late Mr. Carter, to whom the antiquarian world is under so many obligations, has most fortunately handed down to us, in the first volume of his *Ancient Sculpture and Painting*, slight but most instructive etchings of every statue, in the order in which they still stand, and in the state in which they were at the close of the last century, the plates being dated 1784-5-6. They amount, in number, to one hundred and fifty-two, exclusive of that of bishop Bubwith, on the north-west tower, erected at a later period. Of these there are twenty-one crowned kings, presuming two headless statues to have been originally so distinguished; eight crowned queens; thirty-one mitred ecclesiastics; seven armed knights; fourteen princes or nobles, in various costumes of the twelfth century; the remainder consist of male and female ecclesiastical and secular personages, saints, apostles, angels, and the mutilated images of the Virgin Mary and the first and second Persons of the Holy Trinity.

That Mr. Cockerell has undervalued the evidence of

sunt duæ maximæ botterasses ad altitudinem circa LX pedum cum tribus ordinibus sculpturarum cum magnis ymaginibus de nova lege."

¹ Godwin's expressions, "ex polito lapide affabre insculpto", would apply to ornamental sculpture in general, and not statuary in particular. The choir, in the middle of which bishop Joceline is buried, is highly ornamented.

these etchings by "the zealous Carter", as he very properly calls him, will, I think, be frequently apparent as we proceed. The descriptions by Mr. Gough, which are appended to them, certainly afford us very little information. In the year 1810, however, Wells was visited by an enthusiastic antiquary named Powell, who made sufficiently large and accurate drawings of several of the most interesting statues, thoroughly corroborating, in all important points, the corresponding ones of Carter, and consequently increasing our confidence in the remainder.

To dispose, then, at once of the mutilated statues I have just mentioned. It is quite probable that the figure seated in the centre of the west front, over the highest tier of statues, and of which only the portion from the knees downwards remains, represented the Deity, either in the first or second person of the Trinity. (Pl. 1, fig. 1.) That the niches on each side, now entirely empty, were occupied by standing figures, as Mr. Cockerell supposes, he might have adduced in evidence the old print in the early edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon*, engraved exactly two hundred years ago, though the figures are too rude and too small to afford us any information as to the persons represented. The headless figure in the spandril of the arch over the great western entrance, is evidently that of the Virgin with the child standing in her lap, the legs only of the holy infant remaining. (Fig. 2.) Above the point of the arch are two other headless figures, seated on the same throne; and, according to Mr. Cockerell, representing the coronation of the Virgin.¹ (Fig. 3.)

I shall not detain you by any remarks on these, or on the statues of the nine angels on the seventh tier. The real difficulty of my task commences with the twelve figures immediately above the nine angels, and representing, says Mr. Cockerell, "the twelve apostles, in statues about eight feet high, in majestical order and very fine design, with their several distinctive symbols and costumes, worthy of the most careful observation and comparison with other authorities." "The first", he remarks, "is undoubtedly St. Peter, as evinced by the globe in his hands and the

¹ In the Crystal Palace there is a restoration of this group; but not at all agreeing with this suggestion, or the lithograph in Mr. Cockerell's publication, in which Christ is represented in the act of crowning the Virgin.

crown on his head. Bishop Trotman's adhesion to the papistic party is here asserted in a signal manner. The second may be Matthew, holding his gospel; the third may be Thomas; the fourth, Simon the Canaanite, holding a sword, his constant symbol; the fifth may be James the son of Zebedee, standing next to his brother, the sixth, St. John, holding a chalice in his hand. The seventh is Andrew, designated by his cross, to whom the church of Wells is dedicated; the eighth may be Philip; the ninth, by the instrument of his martyrdom, which he holds in his hands (the flaying knife and his own skin), can be no other than Bartholomew; the tenth is James the son of Alphaeus, recognized by the club with which, as bishop of Jerusalem, he suffered martyrdom; the eleventh may be Thaddeus; and the twelfth is Matthias." What can be much more particular or satisfactory than this description, which occurs at page 33 of Mr. Cockerell's work, illustrated as it is by a beautiful lithograph, bearing out the words of the writer? How startled, then, must we be to find at page 116, without the slightest intimation of the author having seen reason to modify his opinion, or the least allusion to the previous expression of it, a conflicting statement equally circumstantial, equally authoritative! In this we are told that the third statue, previously assigned to Thomas, has something in his hand which may be supposed to be a loaf, and may designate St. Philip; that the fourth, which we have been instructed was Simon the Canaanite, holding a sword, *his constant symbol*, may possibly signify St. Jude; the eighth, previously suggested to represent Philip, is now stated to have "no symbol by which he may be clearly designated"; the eleventh, which we have been told might be Thaddeus, is now in the same predicament, "not recognizable by any symbol, save the book which he holds in his right hand, and may therefore be intended for St. Paul",—who, by the way, was not one of the twelve; and the twelfth, which was unhesitatingly pronounced to be Matthias, is now described as "having a spear in his hand, and may therefore be St. Thomas, to whom this symbol, as the instrument of his martyrdom, is commonly attributed." This is puzzling enough; but the confusion does not end here. Mr. Carter, whose etchings were made seventy years ago, and who, whatever may be

the defects of his drawing, cannot be suspected of inventing symbols, has furnished us with another version of these figures. (See plate 1). The first is certainly crowned, but has no globe in his hands, which seem to have been raised and joined as in prayer. The second (Mr. Cockerell's St. Matthew), bears an unmistakeable spear; and therefore has more right to be considered St. Thomas than the third, or even, as I believe, the last. The third (first called St. Thomas, and then St. Philip) is represented at that period in so mutilated a state, that we cannot even speculate upon its signification. The fourth has a sword; and therefore, if St. Paul is to be admitted, has surely a greater right to be so called than either St. Simon or St. Jude, neither of whom I have ever seen represented with a sword.¹ The fifth is in a pilgrim's habit, with the bourdon, or pilgrim's staff, the broad-leaved hat, and the scrip or wallet; and is of course intended to represent St. James. The sixth and seventh are as clearly St. John and St. Andrew. But what shall we say to the eighth? This figure, which Mr. Cockerell has first supposed to be St. Philip, and then declined to appropriate, as bearing no symbol by which he may be clearly designated, appears, in 1784, to have held a book in his left hand, and in his right an indubitable key! A symbol about which there can be no mistake: and if this be Peter the key-bearer,—as who else are we to consider it?—what becomes of the crowned apostle, and bishop Trotman's peculiarly papistical politics? It is quite possible that the key had disappeared before Mr. Cockerell examined these statues. He could not have passed over so decisive a symbol; but he surely must have seen Mr. Carter's etchings, which he criticizes, while admitting (at page 7) that "they preserve to us at least their number and *state at that period*"; and his silence on this point is therefore the more remarkable. But to continue. The ninth, with a knife, is no doubt St. Bartholomew;

¹ St. Simon is usually designated by a saw, not a sword. He is so represented at Exeter, and on the rood-screen at Sotterley. An engraving by Callot represents him sawed through longitudinally. Upon what authority is it stated that a sword is "his constant symbol"? St. Jude, or Thaddeus, is seen with a boat, a carpenter's square, a ship with sails, a club, a halbert, and various other emblems, but nothing like a sword; while St. Paul is rarely represented without one.

the tenth has a stick in his hand, which may be the fuller's club; the eleventh is without any distinction; but the twelfth holds a long staff, called by Mr. Cockerell a spear, the head of which is too much mutilated to enable one to form a decided opinion upon it: while the second figure in Mr. Carter's series certainly bears one, and has therefore the better right to be called St. Thomas.

Now then to return to that most important question: Who is intended to be represented by the regal figure that heads this remarkable band, arrayed in so unusual a manner for an apostle, with an open kingly crown, not the tiara of the popedom, standing first in the rank, though not, perhaps, in the place of honour, which appears to be the centre, occupied by St. Andrew (to whom the church is dedicated), with St. John, the beloved of our Lord, on one side, and St. Peter on the other,—the south, or spiritual side of the building? Well may Mr. Cockerell invoke the particular attention of the learned in this department! To whom I also, having no claim to such a distinction, most respectfully refer it, with this slight suggestion:—

Suppose that, misled by the fact of there being exactly twelve figures in so conspicuous a position, we have jumped too eagerly at the conclusion that they must be the twelve apostles, and nobody else? Admit the possibility of this very natural error, and the enigma is immediately capable of solution. St. Paul with the sword is no longer a doubtful statue. The mutilated figure supposed to be St. Philip, because something like a loaf is said to be visible in his hands, is as likely to be St. Stephen, the first martyr, bearing the usual symbol of that martyrdom, a stone; the evangelists, St. Mark and St. Luke, might claim admission to a group containing St. John and St. Matthew; and the crowned figure then may, without any discrepancy, be taken to represent one of those royal Anglo-Saxon saints to whom the English church is so much indebted. And with such a termination on the northern or temporal side, what wonder if the line is closed on the spiritual by the statue of that most popular local saint, Joseph of Arimathea, with his celebrated staff, the mutilated head of which indicated probably, in its original state, the miraculous blossom? I admit this to be but conjecture opposed to conjecture; but of one thing I feel

tolerably confident, namely, that the crowned figure, with or without a globe, was not intended to represent any apostle whosoever.¹

I have occupied your time upon this portion of the sculpture more than I anticipated doing when I commenced my investigation; but I considered it my duty to point out the conflicting versions of Mr. Cockerell and the appearance of the key in Mr. Carter's etchings, which, if it really did exist in 1784-5, could only have designated St. Peter, and completely disposes of the political conclusions drawn from the regal statue by the learned professor.

We will now take into consideration the statues on the south side of the great west entrance: that portion which, we are told, was considered by ancient architects the most holy, and which in this instance we find to be adorned almost entirely by statues of ecclesiastical personages. Mr. Cockerell counts thirty-six bishops and holy characters on the spiritual side; but as the bishops of Wells preceding Trotman were twenty only in number, he adds the thirteen bishops of Sherborne, making thirty-three out of the thirty-six, and proceeds at once to name each statue in succession. Now, admitting that he may be right in his general conjecture, I conceive that there is this difficulty in the way of identifying the particular statues. Suppose we begin with the first bishop to the left of the statue called king Ina, and go on regularly through the tier in a line with it. We find twenty-one statues,—nineteen in front, and two round the corner on the south side. These, we might say, were the twenty-one bishops of Wells, including Trotman. But no! Mr. Cockerell commences with Adhelm, first bishop of Sherborne; and having named Forthere and Herewald, his two successors, he comes to a pier or buttress, and immediately jumps to Athelmus, first bishop of Wells, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; and then returns to the Sherborne line, and goes on with Ethelnod, Denefrith, etc., till he comes to the second buttress, in which he places Wolfelmus, second bishop of Wells, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. He then departs altogether from the chronological order of even the bishops of Sherborne, placing Asser after

¹ Christ is occasionally so sculptured and painted; but if enthroned immediately above these statues, it is not probable he would be here repeated.

Edmund, instead of Ethelrage and Alfsius; and then, after the two last bishops, Sighelm and Ethelwold (889-898), skipping at once to Reginald Fitz Joceline, bishop of Wells (1191), and archbishop of Canterbury; when, in accordance with his own theory, this should be Brithelmus, as the next bishop of Wells after Wolfelmus, who was advanced to the primacy; and finishing the tier with bishop Robert and bishop Savaric, the predecessor and successor of Fitz Joceline. Then beginning at the sixth niche on the tier above, he puts in the remaining bishops of Wells, with Brithelmus and Leovingus out of their regular order. It must be surely apparent to every one, that, without the strongest grounds for this arrangement, it is a very debatable one; and the scheme liable to as many different interpretations as there are modes of calculating,—from left to right, from right to left, up or down, as it may suit the theory or caprice of the commentator. Let us then examine the grounds upon which this arrangement has been made.

There are three buttresses on this side of the church, and one on the return of the south tower. The figures in front of these buttresses are seated, whilst the others stand, and so far may be supposed to represent superior personages. One of them is a king, designated as Edward the Elder by Mr. Cockerell. The other seven are mitred; and five of them, as we have seen, are pronounced to be archbishops of Canterbury. Let us see how Mr. Cockerell identifies one of these archbishops. "No. 30", he says, "is an archbishop enthroned, on the second pier, and in a remarkable attitude, holding in his extended arms a drapery, and looking towards the kings to the north. This is Brithelm, the fifth bishop, a monk of Glastonbury, appointed to the see in 956; and in the following year raised to the primacy, which, in 959, he renounced at the instance of king Edgar, in favour of St. Dunstan To express this remarkable fact," he continues, "the sculptor has presented the archbishop as holding his robe of office (the pallium) in his hands, and offering it to Edgar, who sits below him, on the north: a more happy expedient for the recognition of this amiable personage could not possibly have been divined. The spectator is at once struck with the singularity of the action, and finds one of the

most effectual keys to the explanation of the whole subject of these statues."

Now, putting aside the extraordinary notion that any one could imagine that a person extending his arms straight-forward was in the attitude of offering anything to another person seated at such an enormous distance to his right, and on a lower tier, upon what authority are we to consider the drapery to be the pallium? This distinguishing feature of the archiepiscopal costume was, at the time of the execution of these statues, a strip or band, originally of white woollen stuff, three fingers in breadth,¹ which passed round the shoulders, and hung down the centre of the chasuble, in front, to about the knee. "Its exact form", as Mr. Pugin has observed in his *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament*, p. 109, "is yet retained in the arms of the see of Canterbury." It was also borne by the archbishops of York down to the time of the Reformation. (Vide seal of archbishop Waldeby, 1397, plate 2, fig. 1.) It was generally ornamented with small crosses, and fringed at the end, and as unlike the drapery presented to us either in Mr. Carter's etching, or Mr. Cockerell's more elaborate drawing, as anything can well be imagined. Indeed, from the appearance of the statue in 1785, if we are to trust at all to Mr. Carter, the drapery seems to be only a portion of the chasuble (pl. 3, fig. 1), in which every one of these mitred figures is attired, without the slightest distinction. There is one feature, and only one, in this statue, as drawn by Mr. Carter, in which it differs in any degree from any other of its mitred companions, and that Mr. Cockerell has passed unnoticed. It is the form of the mitre itself, which is lower and more angular than the surrounding examples: a character common enough to the twelfth century, and of which there exists a specimen in the mitre of the celebrated Thomas à Becket, preserved in the cathedral at Sens.² I have already pointed out to you, that, according to Mr. Cockerell's own theory, Brithelmus should occupy the seat in which he has chosen to enthrone Reginald Fitz Joceline; and, were I to argue on the same principles, I should say that if the drapery be really meant

¹ *Ceremoniale Romanum*, c. i, s. 10; *Durand. Ration.*, l. iii, c. 7. In the time of Gregory the Great it was made of linen. The change in texture took place, according to Ruinart, in the eighth century.

² And engraved in Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*, vol. i.

to represent the pall, or pallium, the action would be equally indicative of the latter, who was made archbishop of Canterbury against his will, and did not live to take possession of his see. He, indeed, might be supposed to be holding the insignia of his office, which he had received but never put on. So easy is it to imagine,—so difficult to decide.

There are twenty-six mitred statues to the south of the west door, figured by Mr. Carter. Two others had lost their mitres in his time; and one niche in the third buttress was, and is still, empty, which may have contained another, making in all twenty-nine,—a number which will not correspond with the theory of Mr. Cockerell as regards the bishops of Sherborne and Wells; and he therefore adds to them the six statues which are not habited in pontificals (Nos. 13, 14, 31, 32, 33, and 34, in his plan), four of which, he tells us, are attired as monks, with cowls and long beards (though on two I can perceive no cowls), in order to mark the degraded and persecuted state of the church at their respective periods. No. 31 he identifies as Sigar, abbot of Glastonbury, and bishop of Wells, in full pontificals, in the act of benediction, though he has no mitre, but apparently an aumuse¹ pulled over his head; and No. 32 he describes as in the dress of an abbot, holding a book in his hand, and adds,—“this should be bishop Alwyn, the eighth bishop; but history has not recorded any sufficient occasion for the remarkable eccentricities of this costume amongst the bishops of Wells.”

It is really unnecessary for me to point out the excessive latitude of this kind of conjecture; and it would be sheer waste of time to follow any writer through such remarkable eccentricities of argument. There is only one statue of a bishop, or male ecclesiastic, on the spiritual side, which bears a distinctive emblem or symbol. It is numbered 20 in Mr. Cockerell's plan, and is the last statue but one on the second, or, as it is called in his work, the fourth tier. In Mr. Carter's time the head was defaced, and the mitre, if one had ever existed, was demolished; but in the right hand of the figure is a globular vase, or bottle (vide plate 3, fig. 2): and I am rather sur-

¹ A canonical vestment, covering the head and shoulders, often confounded with the amice.

prised that Mr. Cockerell, who calls this statue bishop Savaric, without any mention of the peculiarity, did not seize upon it to indicate bishop John de Villula (or de Pillula, as some have it), the physician, who, having amassed wealth enough by his medical practice at Bath, purchased the see of Wells of king Rufus in 1088, and built the palace there. It would have been a much more rational conjecture than many he has indulged in. There are five other niches, making exactly forty on the second and third (or, as Mr. Cockerell numbers them, the fourth and fifth) tier to the south of the great west entrance. One in front of the first buttress contains a king, seated, and pronounced by Mr. Cockerell to be Edward the Elder. It is just possible it may be; and it is equally possible it may not. That is all that a cautious antiquary would venture to say on the subject.¹ On his left stands a female, in a surcoat with long and wide sleeves, her head covered with the veil worn by all Anglo-Norman ladies, which hangs behind her. She has no wimple; and there is nothing in her costume to mark that it is conventual, as Mr. Cockerell asserts; while on the assumption that the crowned figure must be Edward the Elder, he suggests that the female may well be Eadburgh, one of Edward's daughters by his queen Elf-giva, who was a nun at Winchester. Two niches out of the three on his left are empty; but the centre one contains another female figure, in the ordinary costume of a noble lady of the twelfth century, which, we are told, may have been Ethelhilda, his fourth daughter, a lay sister: the possibility of which, when I am satisfied the monarch represents Edward the Elder, I will admit without a word.

But I must hasten to the north or temporal side, where greater wonders await us; and in so doing I will dispose, *en passant*, of the four central figures, which are smaller than the rest, and are stated by Mr. Powell² (I know not on what authority) to have been placed there by bishop Bubwith. They consist of one male and three female personages. The male figure is crowned in Mr. Cockerell's

¹ This statue fell down from its niche some few years ago, and was restored by Mr. Richardson, the eminent sculptor, at the expense, I believe, of Dr. Markland. In Carter's time it had already lost both its arms,—the right at the elbow, the left close to the shoulder. (Vide plate 3, fig. 3.)

² "The statues, as large as life, are all masterpieces of sculpture, far superior to the smaller ones in the centre, over the west window, placed by bishop Bubwith."—Add. MS., No. 17,463.

plate, and is said by him to have a church in his left hand ; which does not appear, however, either in his own illustration, or in the etching by Mr. Carter, who has also drawn the figure without a crown. The original appears to wear a diadem, over the back of which the hair flows down the shoulders. It is said to represent king Ina, who, according to some writers, founded the conventual church of Wells. The female figure on the north side of the great west window is also without a crown in Mr. Carter's etching, and has only a head band or fillet in Mr. Cockerell's plate, but wears the long kirtle, girdle, and aulmonière: the latter customary appendage at the side of an Anglo-Norman lady being considered by Mr. Cockerell an especial emblem of the charity of the Saxon queen Ethelburga, who, he also tells us, holds in her left hand a scroll or charter.¹ Now the statues have, in fact, no hands remaining (see pl. 3, figs. 7 and 8, from a photograph of the west front); and it would therefore seem idle to speculate upon what they once held in them. In the Crystal Palace there are casts of both these statues, restored; and strange to say, the king has no church in his hand, but in lieu thereof a scroll or charter; while it is the queen who bears the church, and no charter: and in addition to her aulmonière, she has appended to her girdle, by separate small cords, an ink bottle and a knife. (Vide pl. 3, figs. 4, 5, 6.)

The same question here arises, which has imperilled, and must always imperil, such a theory as Mr. Cockerell's. Grant that the male statue represents king Ina, though without a church in his hand, and all goes "merry as a marriage bell"; but as there is no proof that king Ina ever did found a conventual church at Wells, then I say the same question arises as to identity; and one person may with equal, if not more, probability assert that these are the figures of Edward the Elder (the undoubted founder of the see of Wells), and *his* queen; another, that it is the reigning sovereign (Henry II or Henry III, as the case may have been), and *his* queen. Arguing as Mr. Cockerell

¹ In another part of his essay (p. 40) he says that, in her *right* hand, which is now broken off, she probably held the model of the convent at Barking, to which she ultimately retired. Messrs. Digby Wyatt and J. B. Waring, in their description of this statue, call the building she holds in her *left* a "casket". Reliquaries, no doubt, are frequently met with in the form of ecclesiastical edifices.

argues, the fact of Ina having relinquished his crown, and died in the Anglo-Saxon college at Rome, would be all in favour of the statue without a crown ; while, on the other hand, that monarch having undoubtedly founded the see of Sherborne, would be more justly enthroned amongst its bishops than Edward the Elder, whom Mr. Cockerell has placed there. In short, there is no end to conjectures of this description, and no satisfactory result to be arrived at by indulgence in them.

Above these two personages, whoever they may be, stand two female figures, one wearing the super-tunic or surcoat, the other only the kirtle, both veiled and wimpled ; the one to the north is described by Mr. Cockerell as “ a most graceful queen, with an ornamented diadem and scarf, a veil gracefully thrown over her head and shoulders, her left in her necklace,¹ and her right apparently having held a sceptre.” This hand is broken off at the wrist in Mr. Carter’s etching ; but it is probable that Mr. Cockerell may have been enabled, by a closer examination of the statue, to discover some traces of the sceptre. This statue, he concludes then, may well be Ethilda, the fourth daughter of Edward the Elder, sister of Athelstan and wife of Hugh the Great, who, amongst other magnificent presents, is reported to have sent to the latter English sovereign the sword of the emperor Constantine. Having made up his mind to this point, Mr. Cockerell, as usual, continues to argue from it as follows :—“ No. 81 is undoubtedly the suitor himself, Hugh the Great, not as Malmesbury calls him king of the Franks, but the father of Hugh Capet, who obtained the royal dignity in 987. The crownless head of this statue bears a remarkable testimony to the accuracy of Trotman’s History, for it is habited as a prince, and not as a king, with a cap (and not a crown) gracefully placed sideways on his head, and suspended to his side is the formidable sword of Constantine, above described.” Now, what are the facts ? We have here a young prince or nobleman in the ordinary civil habit of the period, wearing, as well as my eyes enabled me to distinguish, the usual fillet head-band or diadem worn by persons of rank in the 12th century,

¹ Mr. Cockerell invariably uses the term necklace. In this instance, as in all the others, it is the lace or cord of the mantle which the hand is raised to.

(if it be a cap it does not alter the argument), the long tunic or surcoat of the Anglo-Norman nobility, with the belt and sword which were its invariable accompaniments. (Vide plate 4, fig. 1.)

What shadow of pretence is there for asserting in round terms that this is "the formidable sword of Constantine"? that celebrated weapon, which, William of Malmesbury informs us, had the name of its original possessor on it in golden letters, and fixed on the pommel, in thick plates of gold, an iron spike, one of the four which the Jewish faction prepared for the crucifixion of our Lord? Has it the slightest peculiarity to distinguish it from the common Anglo-Norman sword exhibited in the hands or suspended at the sides of half-a-dozen other statues in this series? Where is antiquarian speculation to stop, if we are to allow it to revel in such flights of fancy? Why, there is scarcely a prince or noble in the whole catalogue of Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman worthies whose name might not with equal, not to say much greater probability, be given to this statue than that of Hugh the Great, even granting that there were the slightest evidence of the lady, some yards distance from him, being Ethilda.

We have now fairly entered upon what is designated the temporal side of the grand façade, and the interest is increased by the addition of the military to the civil, regal, and ecclesiastical costume of the 12th century. Upon this side are arranged, in two tiers, sixty-seven statues, including the one first-mentioned as Hugh the Great. Of these, eighteen are crowned kings, eight crowned queens, seven armed knights, fifteen male figures without crowns—nobles or princes, and nine females; four mitred ecclesiastics, three without mitres, one doubtful and two headless. The niches for two others are empty and were so in Carter's time. Amongst all those statues, I venture to express my opinion there is not one that can now be identified, and but one that can, with any probability, be guessed at,¹ yet Mr. Cockerell, nothing daunted, has named them all.

It would be tedious and unprofitable to follow him,

¹ A crowned statue bearing a cup or bowl, the usual mode of representing king Edward the Martyr, who was treacherously stabbed by order of his step-mother, whilst he was drinking.

step by step, through this labyrinth of speculation in which "function is smothered in surmise and nothing is but what is not." I will only select some half-dozen instances of the evidence upon which he pronounces judgment. In the first buttress from the centre are enthroned two kings. In the upper one he recognizes "Athelstan (literally the gem or precious stone), and therefore distinguished by a large brooch on the breast, a symbol which the sculptor did not fail to place conspicuously for the purpose of identification." I need scarcely, I think, recall to you who have seen so many splendid specimens of Anglo-Saxon, Danish, and Anglo-Norman fibulæ exhibited at our various meetings, that such an ornament in the 12th century was as common as a breast pin in the present day; that where the tunic had an opening in front, it was an indispensable article to both sexes. You can scarcely turn to an effigy of that period without perceiving some tasteful or magnificent variety of it. Those of our kings and queens at Fontevraud, familiar to every student of costume who has opened the pages of Montfaucon or Stothard, present us with exactly the same brooch as we see upon this statue, of the upper portion of which I have the pleasure to exhibit a photograph from the Museum of the Somerset Archæological Society, at Taunton, through the kindness of the rev. Arthur Jones, hon. sec. (See plate 4, fig. 2.) You will perceive the brooch is of the simplest form, an open oval and tongue, or, what is familiarly called, a ring and pin brooch, set round, it may be, with some small stones or enamelled studs; but not containing any large and magnificent gem, which would render it, indeed, conspicuous, but which, even then, a cautious antiquary, conscious of the general use of the ornament, would hesitate to draw such a conclusion from.¹ Yet this familiar personal trinket, necessary as you will observe in this instance to confine the tunic which has an opening of two or three inches at the throat, is, like the equally common sword of the Norman noble or aulmonière of the Norman lady, declared to be a symbol conspicuously represented for the purpose of identification!

¹ Berengaria, queen of Richard I, especially, has a large brooch of exactly this character.

The female regal costume is represented in this compartment with as much variety as it is capable of. On the north side of the second buttress stands a queen, holding, in her right hand, a book. She wears the long robe or super-tunic, falling in folds over her feet; and with the ample open sleeves so characteristic of the 12th century, the tight sleeve of the kirtle appearing on the left arm, which is raised to the lace of her mantle. Her head and neck are enveloped in the vest and wimple, worn by females of all ranks at that period, and which afterwards became, by its retention, a distinctive portion of the conventual habit. (See pl. 4, fig. 3.) Mr. Cockerell balances between Osburga, the mother of Alfred, and Gunhilda, the daughter of Canute: but rather inclines to the former, Osburga having once shown a book of Anglo-Saxon poetry to her son Alfred, with which he was highly delighted. I fear, however, that a book in the hand of a statue of this period and in such a position, is not so singular a symbol that we can accept it as an illustration of the characteristic anecdote related by the chroniclers.¹ Immediately above this statue, however, stands another royal lady in a pensive attitude, with crown, veil, wimple, and a super-tunic or surcoat, without sleeves, the tight sleeves of the kirtle being visible to the shoulders. "She is represented", says Mr. Cockerell, "in a remarkable attitude, as if withdrawing with her right her ring from her left; such an extraordinary action, in connection with the surrounding statues, leaves no doubt that Ethelfrida the daughter of Alfred and wife of Ethelred Ealdorman of Mercia is here intended, whose renunciation of the marriage tie after the birth of her child is thus ingeniously expressed by the sculptor." If I could satisfy myself that she really is represented as withdrawing the wedding ring, there would, undoubtedly, be a curious coincidence between the attitude and the anecdote; and what would be to me a still more interesting fact, the appearance of a wedding ring upon a lady's finger at this period; for though there can be no doubt they were worn, I do not remem-

¹ The example is not solitary, even in this series. "The Christian queen from Wells cathedral", who stands next to the presumed Osburga in the Crystal Palace, has also a book; and two other casts of females from the cathedral are to be seen there with books in their hands. In our monumental effigies, books (missals, or *livres d'heures*) are continually seen in the hands of females.

ber having ever met with an instance of their being represented either in sculpture or paintings of this period. In all the illuminations I have examined, in all the effigies I have met with or seen engravings of, it has often occurred to me as singular, that with such minute attention to ornament, no married lady has ever, as well as I can remember, displayed that most dear and sacred pledge of affection. But, to my eyes I confess the position of the hands of this statue is simply in natural accordance with the pensive inclination of the head, and Mr. Cockerell's own expression, "as if withdrawing", is more guarded than ordinary. Before I venture to draw conclusions from the attitude therefore, I should like to ascertain the fact of the existence of a ring on the wedding finger of the statue. Has Mr. Cockerell satisfied himself on this point? The statue is too high to examine minutely without the aid of ladders or scaffolding, which I have not had the advantage of. A careful drawing of the hands of this statue is much to be desired: until that is obtained I cheerfully give the learned professor the benefit of the doubt. But alas! what shall we say to the next statue?—that immediately on the fair Ethelfleda's left hand. It is thus described by Mr. Cockerell:—"No. 91 is a remarkable statue, representing a saint in episcopal costume carrying, in his upraised hands, the crown or upper portion of his own head surrounded with a chaplet or circle of stars. The face of the saint himself is perfect, but all above the eyebrows has a corresponding deficiency. Such a mode of representation is quite original, and though quaint, is far superior to the ordinary continental mode, which places the entire head in the hands of a headless trunk. St. Denis and St. Firmin appear thus at Amiens and elsewhere." Now, after this novel opinion that a man who has suffered decapitation is more properly represented holding half his head in his hand than the whole of it, he proceeds,—“This can be no other than St. Neot,” who, according to the professor's own account, appears to have died peaceably enough in 878, with his head fast upon his shoulders!¹ It does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Cockerell that, in admitting that fact, he puts the idea of

¹ There are several conjectures as to who St. Neot was; but I never heard a suspicion of his having been beheaded.

this statue representing St. Neot completely out of the question, if we are to consider it as really holding any portion of its head in its hands. But is it so doing? Or has the upper part of the head suffered by some accident, and is what it appears to hold, anything more extraordinary than a cap or a crown? or, judging from the etching of Mr. Carter, a heart, which is of frequent occurrence at this period? (see plate 4, fig. 4.) When that fact is ascertained it will be time enough to draw deductions from it. Until then, if Mr. Cockerell be right on one point, he must necessarily be wrong on the other.

I have said that there are seven statues of armed knights, and as they are exceedingly illustrative of the military costume of the twelfth century, I will take them all together. There are three in the west front and four in the north-west tower. Five are in complete mail, with the surcoat without sleeves, and bear the long Norman shield, unsculptured, with armorial bearings. It would be very desirable to ascertain, if possible, whether any device was ever painted on these shields. That many, if not all the statues were painted is very probable, as patches of blue, vermillion, and gold, are still stated to be discovered in the niches, and of all portions the shield was most likely to be so ornamented. Nothing could assist us so materially in our endeavours to fix the actual date of their execution, as well as to arrive at some fair knowledge of whom they were intended to represent, as the discovery of such ornamentation.

If they were indeed executed under the direction of Bishop Trotman, heraldry had at that period become a science. It is precisely the date at which rolls of arms first appear, and if these warriors were meant to represent historical personages they would most probably have displayed their armorial bearings on their shields and perhaps on their surcoats. The effigy of the famous William Longuespée, earl of Salisbury, in Salisbury Cathedral, is of that period, and the lions are sculptured on his shield and printed on his surcoat. The well known and still earlier enamelled tablet at Mans—miscalled, in my opinion, that of Geoffrey Plantagenet, but at any rate as early as the middle of the 12th century—exhibits a shield with a similar device. If it be objected that Guthrum the Dane, Edmund Ironside,

and Harold, to whom Mr. Cockerell appropriates three of these statues, existed long previous to the adoption of armorial insignia, I answer that they would still, according to the practice of medieval artists, have been distinguished in the 13th century by attributive coats, such as were invented by the early heralds for every gentleman, from Adam downwards, including the nine worthies; while Robert, duke of Normandy, would surely have displayed the lions of his race, and Fulco of Anjou, the imaginary escarboucle. Without this help, and left entirely to our own speculations, it is idle to argue the question of identity. The sculptor of the twelfth or thirteenth century would have represented Judas Maccabeus and Richard Cœur de Lion in the same armour, and there is no distinctive feature in any one of these statues to lead us to suspect it is intended for one hero more than another. Let us see for instance what Mr. Cockerell considers distinctive features, and what conclusions he draws from them.

“No. 111” he describes as “a warlike figure in a very singular costume; a hauberk covers the body and legs, which are spurred. In front is a kite-shaped shield, on the head is a kind of turban, and round the waist is a frock or coat terminating in straps. The oriental character of this dress and the position immediately above the Plantagenet family, lead to the conclusion that this is no other than Fulco, earl of Anjou, &c.” It is, perhaps, not to be expected that Mr. Cockerell, who could have described so learnedly and correctly the dress of a Greek or Roman warrior, should be equally well-informed respecting that of a French or English knight of the 12th century; but a glance at the effigies in the Temple church, or at one or two works with which he must, surely, be well acquainted, might have prevented his falling into such serious errors. The truth is, that any one tolerably versed in the subject will perceive that the costume is neither singular nor oriental. (See pl. 5, fig. 1.) The figure, now much dilapidated, on the right side, is attired in a hauberk and chausses of mail, the hood of the hauberk enclosing the whole head with the exception of a portion of the face. What Mr. Cockerell calls a kind of turban, he may see specimens of in many effigies of this period, particularly

one in the Temple church,¹ which has been often engraved. (See plate 5, fig. 2.) It is a thick fillet, probably of cuir-bouilli, affording not only a protection to the head in the absence of the helmet, but also to the face from the helmet itself, which, as you will perceive in the very next statue (see plate 5, fig. 4), was at that time of the flat-topped cylindrical class, of which we have seen, exhibited in this room, a most interesting example, now the property of our noble associate the earl of Warwick, and engraved in our *Journal*.² Simply placed over the head like a great iron pot, this fillet kept it steady and prevented it from injuring the nose by pressure or a blow from a sword or lance. In the 13th century it was, apparently, made of metal, or, at any rate, highly ornamented and sometimes jeweled.

The garment worn over the hauberk, which Mr. Cockerell describes as "a frock or coat terminating in straps," and which is incorrectly represented in his lithographic plate, is the military surcoat of the period, exhibiting one of the well-known fashions of the time, and which was so prevalent in the reign of Henry II, that a sumptuary law was passed in order to check the extravagance to which it was carried. I lately had the pleasure of exhibiting here a drawing of a seal of prince William, the brother of Henry II, in which a variety of this fashion appeared in the caparison of the horse:³ but in a MS. copy of Matthew Paris' life of the Two Offas, in the British Museum (Cotton. MSS., Nero D. i), there is an illumination which has been frequently engraved, representing a knight wearing a surcoat precisely similar to that here represented (see plate 5, fig. 3), and a helmet like that on the statue immediately following (see plate 5, fig. 4), named by Mr. Cockerell, Robert of Normandy, father of William the Conqueror. Here again we are at issue, even as regards the attitude of the figure: Mr. Cockerell's plate representing the head turned towards the right instead of the left; the helmet is also of a different character, and a garment beneath the surcoat descending in folds to the feet, which never could have existed in

¹ There are two in the Temple church, casts of which are to be seen in the nave of the Crystal Palace, outside of the Mediæval court, and attributed to a De Bohun earl of Hereford and a De Vere earl of Oxford.

² Vol. vi, plate xxxvi, p. 443.

³ Vol. xii, plate 12, p. 100.

that statue, and I will undertake to say never was seen in any effigy or illumination representing a warrior of the twelfth or thirteenth century. I lay before you copies of the carefully made drawings of those two figures by Mr. Powell, in 1810, which my own rude sketches, made upon the spot, and the etchings of Mr. Carter, will suffice to verify. In 1785, the right arm of the second figure was perfect; in 1810, as now, it was broken off a little above the wrist.

The shield on which the left hand of this figure is resting, has in the upper portion an umbo or boss, characteristic of an earlier period than the thirteenth century, although later instances may perchance be found: but as I have already observed, there is no distinctive feature by which I could even venture to guess for whom the statue was designed. The same remark applies to the other armed statues, and similar discrepancies will be perceived between Mr. Cockerell's illustrations, and the drawings of Mr. Powell. The statue designated Edmund Ironside (see pl. 6, fig. 1), especially, must have undergone considerable alteration since 1810, as at that period there appears to have been neither a sword to draw, nor an arm to draw it. It is impossible to argue upon such premises, and whether "the gallant and interesting Edmund Ironside" was "drawing his sword with characteristic expression," as Mr. Cockerell asserts, or sheathing it with the same expression, must depend upon fuller evidence than we have before us. No. 109 in Mr. Cockerell's plan is a statue which has occasioned much speculation, and been the cause of many erroneous conclusions. Here is a copy of Mr. Powell's drawing of it, and it is still in the same state (see plate 6, fig. 2). It represents a young man, bare-headed, in the ordinary tunic of the twelfth century, and the Norman chausses or hose; but no appearance of mail. In a belt, which crosses the tunic diagonally from the right hip, he bears the long Norman sword, worn, as I have previously remarked, by every nobleman or gentleman, and over the hilt of it he holds in his left hand what has been considered a hat, and seems to have given rise to the opinion of Collinson, and of Gough, that a cardinal was to be seen amongst these statues. Mr. Cockerell, in correcting this error, falls into

another by stating that this statue is that of "a youthful palmer," with his hat and staff, and consequently "can be no other" than Edgar, the nephew of Edward the Confessor, who made a voyage to the Holy Land, with Robert, the son of Godwin, whom he discovers in No. 110. With so complete an example of the attire of a pilgrim, as the statue of St. James has just presented us with, it is strange that such an idea should have occurred. The absence of a palmer's staff, and the presence of a sword, which Mr. Cockerell mistakes for it, must alone be sufficiently decisive. I venture to suggest, however, that the principal cause of the error is not a hat, but an interesting variety of the round buckler so commonly seen in sculpture and painting of the twelfth and thirteenth century, the precursor of the *rondache* of the fifteenth. "The Saxon convex shield," says Meyrick, "had been used as late as the reign of Stephen. The buckler succeeded it, which, though circular, was flat or nearly so. It is mentioned in the *Consuetudines Bregeraci*. 'Item, armaturæ utpote enses lancææ, scuta, *bolgaria* loricæ, plateæ, pileus ferreus sive capellus.'—C. xxviii." Meyrick, *Crit. Inq.*, vol. i, p. 105. Amongst the best known examples of it are those presented by the knight in Great Malvern church; the statue of St. Michael in Salisbury Cathedral; one of the frescos in the old palace at Westminster, published by the Society of Antiquaries in the *Monumenta Vetusta*, with the descriptions of the late Mr. Gage Rokewood, and several in the representations of battles from the same locality and in the same publication. The variety consists in the convexity of the central portion, which gives it the appearance of the crown of a hat,¹ but you will perceive that the circumference is much larger than the crown of any hat intended to fit a human head. The broad hat of that day had also a more conical crown, like the *pétasus* of the Greeks, and in the same manner is seen slung behind the owner. Here is a copy of an illumination of the thirteenth century, representing a man habited precisely the same as our statue, but with his sword drawn, and his hat slung behind him, as I have mentioned. (See plate 6, fig. 3.) Here is also the figure

¹ In Germany a very small buckler of this form was actually called "*der hutte*", the hat. In vol. 27 of the *Archæologia* is a curious account of a duel in the fifteenth century, in which the combatants are represented with such bucklers.

of a pilgrim of the same date, from the work in the *Vetusta* already alluded to (see plate 6, fig. 4), with his hat likewise slung behind him. In the statue, the buckler is grasped by the transverse bar or holder, which, if the interior were seen, would most probably be of this form. (See plate 6, fig. 5, from an Italian specimen of the fifteenth century.) But even granting that I am mistaken, and that it is really his hat he holds in his hand, and not a buckler, I think you will admit there is not the slightest foundation for imagining this statue to represent a pilgrim or palmer, nor consequently for ascribing it, on that ground, to the youthful Edgar Atheling, who, by the way, is supposed to have lived to upwards of an hundred years of age.

We have now happily reached the northern tower, and there are but two or three more statues on these tiers upon which I think it necessary to say a word. The figure of a prelate seated, both arms broken off at the wrist, but wearing a mitre entirely different in form to any of the others, occupies a niche in the centre buttress. (See plate 7, fig. 1.) It is numbered 108 in Mr. Cockrell's plan, and is pronounced to be Aldred, archbishop of York. I shall simply call your attention to the mitre: it is of that peculiar form called by French antiquaries "*fermée à l'éteignoir*", literally, "shaped like an extinguisher," and not divided into two cones, as in later examples. An archbishop, wearing this mitre and the pallium, is amongst the statues at the Cathedral of Chartres, and is engraved by Mr. Shaw in his *Dresses and Decorations*. (See plate 7, fig. 2.) Another interesting example occurs in the painted glass copied by Mr. Powell from a window in Wells cathedral itself (see pl. 7, fig. 3), and labeled "Saint Marcellida."¹ Such a mitre was worn by the early pontiffs (see plate 7, fig. 3, from Cotton. MS., Nero, D. i), and forms the foundation of the triple crown.² My first impression on seeing this statue was, that it represented a pope, and though I do not dispute its being intended for an archbishop, however much I may demur to the particular appropriation of it to Aldred, I cannot

¹ Quære, St. Marcellus, pope and martyr, A.D. 309.

² It appears in this form above the cross keys in the seal of archbishop Waldeby, 1397. (See plate 2, fig. 1.)

help observing that it is strange the chair of St. Peter should not be represented in such an assembly, particularly if the work be really that of the ultra-papistical Trotman ; and if this be not a pope, there is no other statue that can lay claim to such a distinction. Another enthroned figure deserves special attention : it is marked 61 in Mr. Cockerell's plan, and is called by him Edward the Confessor ; "the admission of whose statue to the western front", he informs us, "was not compatible with the scheme of this sculptresque illustration." In other words, it would have interfered with the theory the learned professor is bent at all sacrifices on working out. "The sculptor," he observes, "could not possibly have expressed in a more significant manner the mild and impassable character of the holy king. His head crowned with a low crown, and in his left the sceptre : his right leg crossed over the knee of his left, in the attitude of council." To say that I do not believe it to represent Edward the Confessor, would be only to place my humble opinion against Mr. Cockerell's. I would rather point out to you that on its head is a cap, and not a crown of any description, even in his own drawing of it : and that his left hand grasps his right leg, and not a sceptre. (See pl. 7, fig. 5.) The right hand is now broken off at the wrist, as is the case unfortunately with too many of the statues. It existed in Carter's time, and perhaps held something ; but what, it would be difficult to determine. There are, however, more portraits, if we may call them so, of Edward the Confessor, which have descended to us through eight hundred years uninjured, than of any other individual of his time in England ; and I think those who are acquainted with them (and I must be addressing several) will bear me out in the assertion, that there is scarcely a regal statue in the whole of this series that could present features so essentially different to those we have been accustomed to consider as appertaining to that sainted sovereign.

One word on the attitude of the statue, which is so familiar to all who have been in the habit of inspecting the sculptures or illuminations of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It was remarked at one of our meetings, and I exceedingly regret that I cannot recollect the name of the gentleman who threw out the valuable hint, that

this attitude was almost invariably given by artists of that time to persons who possessed the right to sit, not merely in council but in judgment, and my observation, awakened by this remark, has found much to corroborate the authenticity of it. It has therefore occurred to me, that it may account for the cross-legged effigies of nobles and knights which make their appearance just about the same period. The idea that such a disposition of the limbs indicated a crusader, has for some time been abandoned, the effigies of females having been found with their legs crossed; but if we consider it to signify the possession of feudal rights, by which they were privileged to sit in judgment, an Isabella de Fortibus might be so distinguished with as much propriety as a William de Vernon, or a Baldwin de Redvers. Whether the conjecture is well founded or not, so ungraceful an attitude could scarcely be merely conventional with the artists. It must have been a well known practice, custom, or fashion of the time amongst exalted individuals, as inferior persons are never so represented.

The next statue but one demands a passing observation. It is described by Mr. Cockerell as "another prince, with a cap on the side of his head, his left hand raised to his neck in the conventional attitude, and with his right, lifting his cloak, and discovering his leg booted with a short hose of remarkable form, displaying, beyond all equivocation, and with the accustomed clearness of demonstration, the unfortunate prince Robert Curthose, the duke of Normandy." I will presume Mr. Cockerell's drawing to be more correct than Mr. Carter's etching, which exhibits a much older personage, having no cap on his head, and no neck in place of his broken left arm to have raised its hand to. But in the Crystal Palace is a cast of this statue with the left arm restored (see plate 8, fig. 1), and the surcoat or super-tunic (not the cloak) being drawn on one side, displays, not the top of a *short* boot or hose, fashioned in a mode unlike to any of that period I ever met with, but one so long, or so high, that it disappears beneath an undergarment (pl. 8, fig. 2), the edge of which is cut in a form that will be immediately recognized by Somersetshire antiquaries as displayed in the effigy of sir Maurice Berkeley (A.D. 1281) in Bristol cathedral. Here is

a copy of a drawing of the latter by Mr. Powell. (See plate 8, fig. 3.) You will perceive there are two garments, as if on purpose to settle the question, each presenting a similar incision, the purpose of which I need not take up your time in speculating upon, having, I think, satisfactorily disposed of the grounds upon which alone the statue at Wells is asserted to be, "beyond all equivocation, and with the accustomed clearness of demonstration", the unfortunate Robert Curthose.¹

Mr. Cockerell having discovered the whole line of Cerdic in the west front, has been equally successful with the house of Plantagenet on the north tower. It would be tedious and unprofitable to combat all his conjectures and assertions. I will only call your attention to the two last of the series. (Pl. 9, figs. 1, 2.) "No. 78" (fig. 2), he says, "bearing a crown, may be king John,—a statue of no more remark than the contemptible original, odious alike to clergy and to laity." Mr. Cockerell has a special and not unreasonable horror of king John, who certainly does not bear an exceedingly high character in English history. But whatever may have been his faults as a sovereign, or as a man, it would have been the height of ingratitude for any citizen or authority of Wells to have treated him disrespectfully, as he was one of the greatest benefactors to that city on record; and even supposing the whole of this work was executed under the direction of bishop Joceline Trotman, who was exiled by that monarch for interdicting the nation pursuant to the pope's commands, as it must have been begun during John's reign, and finished early in that of his son and successor, I do not think it would have been policy to have purposely insulted him or his memory. At the same time that I express my doubts that this statue was ever intended to represent king John, I must also confess that I cannot see anything in the statue itself to deserve the epithet of contemptible. It appears to me to be of average merit in point of design. Its execution may, however, be inferior; and of that Mr. Cockerell is undoubtedly the best judge. But the very name of king John appears to distort his vision. He imagines he has

¹ This prince is distinctly stated by Malmesbury and Ordericus Vitalis to have not only been short-legged, but particularly corpulent; of which characteristic there is no indication. The epithet "Gambaron", which was also applied to him, would rather intimate *bandy* legs. *Jambes rondes*, or *arrondies*.

discovered that unhappy monarch amongst the statues on the west front of Exeter cathedral, and asserts that "the detested and abject king John is caricatured by the sculptor,—a mean figure, crouching, with one shoulder higher than the other, his head on one side, sunk beneath them, and partly hiding his face with his left hand." Now although it is traveling a little out of the record, I must beg you to cast your eyes on the admirable photograph of that portion of Exeter cathedral in which the statue so described is situated, and compare it with the engraving of the statue, by Mr. Carter, in the *Monumenta Vetusta*, which is of large size and careful execution. (Pl. 9, figs. 3 and 4.) I think you will say with me, that it represents a venerable monarch bowed down with age, as unlike king John as it would be possible to depict him, in the conventional attitude of adjudication before alluded to, and instead of partly hiding his face with his left hand, laying it on his ample beard,—a gesture indicative of grave consideration. There cannot surely exist in your minds a doubt of the inaccuracy of Mr. Cockerell's description; and can we admit, therefore, of the conclusion drawn from it?

I do not know, however, that I should have considered it necessary to waft you from Wells to Exeter, to notice an additional proof of the singularity of Mr. Cockerell's impressions, had I not wished to observe, *par parenthèse*, that, while the grotesque and coarse caricatures of ecclesiastical and knightly personages must be familiar to every antiquary who has inspected the carvings or illuminations of the middle ages, it has never been my lot to meet with, as far as my recollection serves me, the caricature of a king,—a remarkable circumstance, if I am correct, and which would be fatal to any conjecture of the above description, were not the facts of the case sufficiently decisive. To return to Wells. The last statue on this tier is, in order to work out Mr. Cockerell's theory, suggested by him to represent Henry III "*in the ascendant*", the position of the statue in a corner close by the roof compelling it to have one foot elevated, as if for the purpose of mounting upon it, at considerable risk of stepping into the gutter. (Pl. 9, fig. 1.) But as Mr. Cockerell admits that "the crown is not apparent", and for once, that "the conjecture is hazardous, and only submitted to the reader" I need

not comment on its utter improbability. Above the two last named statues stands a figure, up to the middle of the legs in water, and bearing the now mutilated forms of two children, one in each arm. Mr. Cockerell suggests that this may possibly indicate St. Nicholas, the patron of Baptism,—its position opposite the north porch, in which that ceremony is said to have been performed, having suggested this interpretation. Had all his suggestions been equally guarded and rational, I should have been spared much labour and regret.

There still remains to be noticed the first tier of statues above the sub-base; but it will not take us long. Out of thirty-two (?) niches on the west front, three only exhibit their mutilated occupants,—one female and two male figures. The north-west tower has been more fortunate. On its northern face we observe fifteen statues; and one yet remains on the western side, holding a book. Amongst the fifteen, the most conspicuous is one which Mr. Cockerell has fixed upon as St. Augustine,—“quite unquestionable”, from the fact of his holding in his hands the pallium, the symbol of his archiepiscopal dignity.¹ So that we perceive the figure called Brithelmus is after all not so singular in its attitude as Mr. Cockerell asserts. But the same objection may be here taken, that the drapery upheld by this statue is as unlike the archiepiscopal pallium as that presented by the supposed Brithelm, passing over the absurdity of representing St. Augustine bearing in his hands what he had been invested with, and did not resign, as the former did. Moreover the figure, as etched by Mr. Carter, exhibits clearly enough that the personage, whoever it may be, is youthful, from the long hair falling down the shoulders, and bears reverently, on a piece of drapery (which may be simply a napkin), something very like a round box or case, strongly suggesting the possibility of being intended to represent Mary Magdalen with the box of ointment, if a female; or, if a male, St. Cosmo, who is generally so symbolized. (See plate 9, fig. 5.) In which latter case, the figure on his left would most probably be St. Damian, as they were ordinarily represented together.

It would be impossible, in fact, to identify these and

¹ Iconography, page 27.

other statues as the same which have been drawn or described by Mr. Cockerell, but for the very precise manner in which they are numbered in his plans, and arranged on Mr. Carter's plates. Next to the last-named stand four women, two at least bearing some article which is not clearly discernible. The seven last figures are in the various habits of the inferior clergy; and as I find in the register of Wells that several deans, precentors, and other officers of the cathedral, were benefactors to it, they may possibly have been thus gratefully remembered; or the statues may simply typify the various classes of ecclesiastics, canons, prebends, priests, chanters, sub-chanters, etc., composing the staff of a cathedral.

And now you will ask me, having disputed, if not disproved, so many of Mr. Cockerell's most important assertions and conjectures, what have I to offer you as a compensation for disturbing, perhaps dispelling, the glorious vision his enthusiasm had conjured up? I honestly answer, nothing. I might, with the greatest facility, were I inclined to follow the learned professor's example, name every statue differently, and give as good a reason for so doing: but *cui bono*? Without stronger evidence than I can at present produce no advantage could result from it, beyond an additional corroboration of the truth of Mr. Britton's remarks that "an attempt to designate and describe all the statues and sculptured figures of this front, would require a long dissertation and would necessarily be occupied by much conjectural reasoning." I perfectly agree with our archæological Nestor, and while I fully appreciate the motives and sincerely respect the talents of Mr. Cockerell, can only lament that he did not confine his labours to accurate delineations of the whole of the existing statues, and precise notices of the dates and character of the repairs and restorations, I may say alterations, some of them have undergone, at least, within the last sixty or seventy years. This would have been a real boon to antiquaries; in lieu of which he has yielded to the temptation of endeavouring to establish a gorgeous hypothesis which can only be sustained by the distortion of fact and the sacrifice of probability. He has not even done himself justice on points wherein he may possibly be correct. His idea may be true in the main: but, as the lawyers

say, "he has overproved his case." Why should he have resorted to Hugh the Great; Charles the Simple, king of France; and Otho, son of Henry the Fowler, emperor of Germany; while the munificent benefactors of the cathedral and the magnates of the locality in which it was reared,—the Mohuns, the Montacutes, the Longuespées and the de Brewers,—are unrepresented? Where is the statue of Matilda de Arundel, who, with the consent of her husband, Gerbert de Perci, gave the church of Brumfield?¹ Of Richard de Camville, the donor of Hengstrig?² Of that "noble man, Geoffrey Talbot," as he is styled in the chartulary?³ and of many others who, previous to the latest date that can be attributed to the work, are commemorated in the same record? Why should Harold, who spoiled the church of all its ornaments, drove away the canons, invaded their possessions and converted them to his own use, be honoured with a statue in the temple he had desecrated? and John, who confirmed the charter of incorporation of Reginald Fitz-Joceline; who, in the eighth year of his reign, erected the city into a free borough, and granted the citizens a free market on Sundays, and a fair on the feast of St. Andrew and the eight following days, on St. Catharine's day, the Invention of the holy cross, and the morrow of St. John the Baptist; whose benefactions are constantly recorded in the chartulary; who was, according to some, the reigning monarch when the work was commenced, and whose son and successor had not long ascended the throne when it was completed,—be ignominiously hidden in an obscure corner of the building? Why?—but to support a theory which has no substantial basis,—one of the principal points of which, namely strict chronological order, is continually abandoned by the propounder whenever it interferes with his interpretation; and who then gravely gives us the reasons which influenced "the demonstrative sculptor" to depart from it. Still, had Mr. Cockerell confined himself to matters of opinion,—to speculations, however extraordi-

¹ "Ego Mathildis de Arundell...eccles de Brunfeld in perpetuam elemōs. petisi Regn Bathon eps' et assensu dñi Gerberti de Perci, mariti mei."—*Regist. of Wells*. (Harl. MS., No. 6968.)

² "Ricardus de Camville...in perpetuam prebendam ecclesiam de Hengstrig." Gerard of Camville, his son, confirms the grant in 1182. (*Ibid.*)

³ "Nobilis vir Galf. Talbot." (*Ibid.*)

nary,—he would have been free to do so. But how stand the facts which he has brought forward as his landmarks in this voyage of discovery? Ina holds no church; Ethelburga no charter; Athelstan wears no conspicuous gem; Hugh the Great, no sword of Constantine; Fulk of Anjou is not in oriental costume; Edgar Athelin has neither palmer's staff nor habit; Robert Curthose no short boot; St. Neot, carrying the upper part of his head in his hands, never lost any portion of it. It is yet to be proved that Brithelm and St. Augustine bear the pallium; and that Ethelfleda wears a ring.

I abstain from noticing a score of equally debatable points. I am weary of disagreeing with Mr. Cockerell, and feel I must have wearied you. But what other course was left to me, if I ventured to touch the subject at all? It was impossible to ignore the statements and opinions of so distinguished an artist, so accomplished a scholar. It is the very weight of his name and the European reputation he so deservedly possesses, which compel me to put my humble protest upon record. Written by him, and published by Messrs. Parker of Oxford, the beautiful volume I have been forced to review is a work of authority which will be referred to by all subsequent inquirers. Mr. Murray, in his *Handbook for Somersetshire*; Messrs. Wyatt and Waring, in their *Guide to the Mediæval Court of the Crystal Palace*, have already given extensive circulation to some of those statements—those opinions. If they prove to be erroneous, how incalculable, how irremediable may be the mischief? It is too probable we may never obtain any clue to guide us safely through this marvellous labyrinth, “this mighty maze,” with or “without a plan”; and that these statues will continue to be distinguished by the names so great an authority has chosen to confer on them. I, myself, should never have questioned them had not my attention been drawn so forcibly to the subject during our recent congress. I should have taken for granted, that all had been done that learning, art, and zeal could accomplish. That on examination I could not, conscientiously, do so, gives me the more regret, as I fear the continuous avowal of diametrically opposite impressions may, in spite of all my endeavours, have given an air of personality to this paper, which is as foreign to my feelings as to my object.

NOTES ON THE VICARS' CLOSE AT WELLS.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT
AND TREASURER.

THE Vicar's Close was originally an establishment for the chantry priests attached to the choir of the cathedral church, and owes its foundation to bishop Joceline Trotman in 1230.¹ The priests were denominated vicars choral from *vicarius*, and may be looked upon as synonymous with the minor canons of some cathedrals of the present day, capable of performing duty as deputies when the principals should be absent. They were, according to the charter of Elizabeth, granted in the twenty-fourth year of her reign, A.D. 1582, not to exceed twenty in number, nor to be less than fourteen. There are now forty-two vicars' dwellings, twenty-one on either side, each consisting of two rooms, a small yard behind, and a garden in front, surrounded by a dwarf wall. There is also a hall, a chamber, a passage to the chapter-house, a great staircase, muniment room, a kitchen, a library, and a chapel. By the arrangement of the houses, the Close forms an oblong court, having an entrance gatehouse at one end, and a chapel at the other. It forms altogether a picturesque object, each house being furnished with a tall chimney shaft rising through the eaves of the roof, octagonal at the top, and perforated like a lantern by two openings on each side. On them are shields bearing the arms of the see, bishop Beckington, and his executors, whose names were SWAN, SUGAR, and POPE. Swans and sugar loaves abound in these heraldic emblems.² The chapel is an elegant building, of good design, and represented by Britton in his *Picturesque English Cities*, and also more minutely and with details from drawings and measurements made by the late Mr. Pugin, by Mr. T. L. Walker, in his "History and Antiquities of the Vicars'

¹ "Vicarios chorales primus ordinavit, qui canonicorum vices in canendo et sacris operando peragerent."—*Godwinus de Præsulibus*, p. 371.

² Plate 10 represents the several shields. Fig. 1 is that of Swan; fig. 2, of Sugar; and fig. 3, of Pope.

Close," forming part I of Pugin's *Examples of Gothic Architecture*.

Mr. Britton ascribes the regular establishment of the vicars choral to Walter de Hulle, sub-dean of the cathedral in 1334, and archdeacon of Bath in 1342, who gave two messuages and lands in Wells that there might be provided thirteen habitations for thirteen chantry priests who officiated at the cathedral. Statutes for the government of the vicars choral¹ were drawn up by Radulphus de Salopia in 1347, and he made further provision for the vicar and choristers, for previously they were scattered about in lodgings in the town. Of the building of this time the evidences now remaining are but few. These, however, have been collected together as far as possible by Mr. Walker, from Mr. Pugin's drawings, and are examples of the Early Pointed style.² Bishop Erghum in the reign of Richard II, and bishop Beckwith in the time of Henry V, appear to have been contributors to the building, and the arms of the latter occur on the door of the chapel and also on the painted glass of the windows. To bishop Beckington, however, must be attributed the ultimate completion of the works. He made great addition to the funds for its support. He built the Close hall gate or choir gate, connecting the Close with the cathedral. His additions went so far beyond all that had preceded him that he has often been mentioned as the *founder of the Close*. This he by no means acknowledged; on the contrary, in the statutes and injunctions revised by him, it is ordained "that every vicar going out or going in att the Close gate, shall say a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria for the soul of the bishop *Ralph of Shrewsbury, founder of the said Close*, and for the souls of his predecessors, and fathers, and mothers, and their benefactors, and for all Christian souls." He built three gate houses, one from the marketplace into the palace, one from the same into the cathedral close to the south, and a third, the choir gate, extending from the Vicars' Close to the cathedral on the north, which forms the principal addition made by him. On the groining of this gateway the bishop's arms, *argent*, on a fess *azure*, a mitre *or*, in chief three bucks' heads, cabossed

¹ See Appendix to Walker's *History*.

² See plates vii, x, xiv, xxi, and xxii.

gules, attired of the third; in base three pheons, *sable*, and his rebus occur, a flaming beacon on a cask or tun, making beacon-ton.

In the hall is a painting (see plate, fig. 4) of much interest. It represents the bishop Ralph de Salopia seated on his throne, the vicars kneeling before him. He holds in his right hand the petition of the vicars, which reads thus:—

*Per bicos positi billæ,
pater alme rogamus,
ut simul uniti, te
dante domos maneamus :*

The answer to this is held in his left hand with the episcopal seal attached, and is as follows:—

*Vestra petunt merita,
quod sint concessu petita :
ut manentis ita,
loca fecimus hic stabilita.*

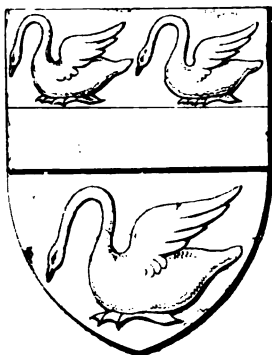
The painting bears the arms of the see of Bath and Wells. Mr. Walker¹ says this picture must be the one alluded to by Godwin,² and, after the confirmation of their charter by queen Elizabeth, must have been added to, as the seventeen figures to the right of those kneeling are entirely in a different costume, with ruffles, such as were worn in Elizabeth's time; and it appears that between is a portion of a curtain, as if the original had extended no further. The figures are also larger, and do not harmonize with the others. Beneath the bishop is the following inscription, which clearly belongs to the latter period.

*Quas primus struxit
Summa pietate Radulphus
Dispersis nobis hospitioque dedit
Aedes, consimili studio
pia facta secutus,
Beckingtonus eas
auxit honore, bonis.
Regali tandem firmabit
singula nobis
Assensu, princeps Elizabetha suo.*

¹ P. 9.

² De Præsulibus in Vita Radulphi de Salopia.

2



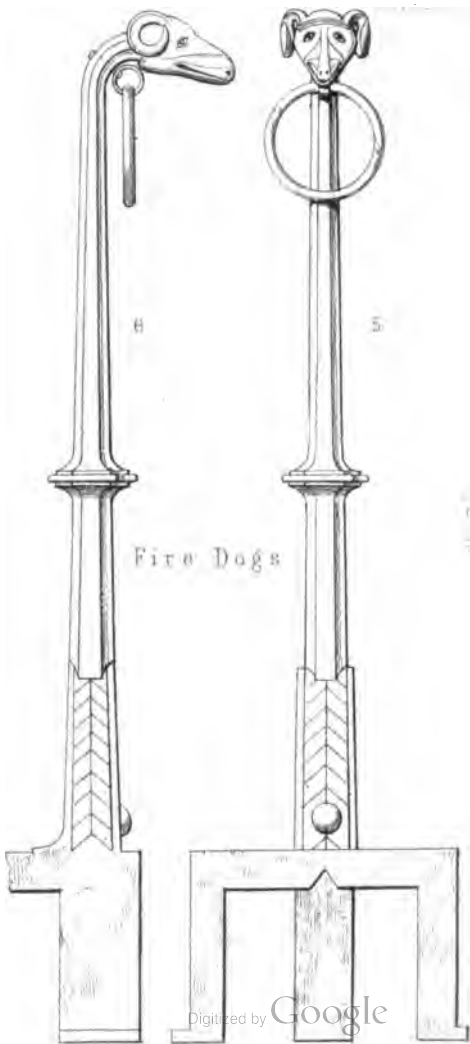
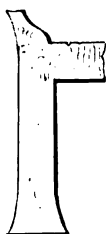
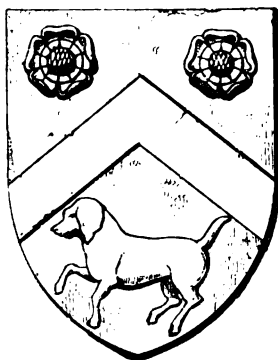
1



3



4



Elizabetha bonis nunquam
 contraria ceptis,
 Aspirans studiis Elizabetha bonis.
 His nos ornati donis,
 regina, precamur
 Sceptra tenens bibas
 Elizabetha diu.

In the hall are also three objects worthy of attention. 1. A pulpit for grace at meal time, opening into the hall by a small square opening over the fireplace. 2. The fireplace, large with good mouldings in the jamb and mantel shelf, on which is a scroll bearing an inscription soliciting the prayers of the vicars choral for the soul of sir Richard Pomeroy, a probable benefactor to the establishment. It reads:—

In bestis preci habeat comedatū dōm Ricardū Pomroy quem
 salvet Ihs. Amen.

3. The fire dogs of iron of a late style (see plate 10, figs. 5 and 6).

In the centre of a gable, forming the south termination of the Vicars' Close, *without* the chain gate, is a little bijou in the form of an oriel window; it is singularly *petite*, but most admirably proportioned and designed, which have caused it to be frequently copied with various success by many architects since the revival. It springs from a corbeled head, from which foliate four cinque-foiled panels, two supporting the central division, and two the cauted sides. Beneath the sills are beautifully enriched panels holding shields, a series of well designed mouldings and decorations filling the other portion. The window now contains only three square-headed lights, the centre one being large, but the tracery has been cut away, and with it, it is most probable, a centre mullion. A slight crenelated cornice caps the whole, with the addition of a boldly curved drip, from which springs a conical roof of two set-offs, surmounted by a fleur-de-lis.

As this building forms one of the few that escaped at the Dissolution, and was continued by a charter granted to it by Elizabeth, these few notes may not be altogether uninteresting.

Proceedings of the Congress.

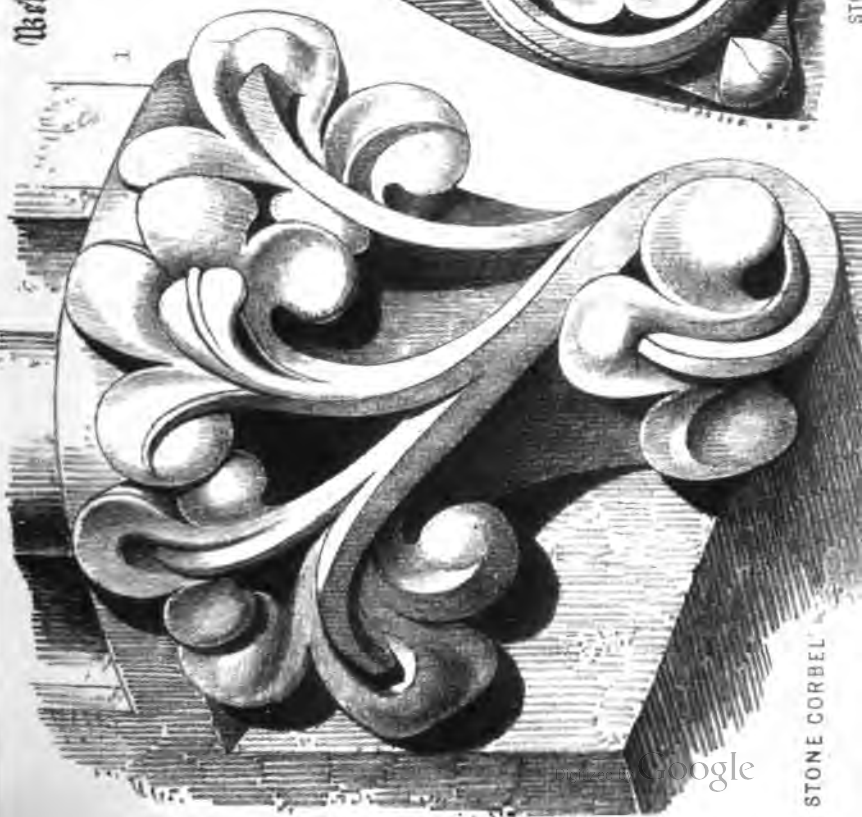
(Continued from p. 391 of vol. xii, in the No. for December 1856.)

AFTER the reading of Mr. Pettigrew's paper on Wells cathedral (an account of the sculptures in the west front being specially reserved to be read during their inspection) the association, under the admirable and effective guidance of the lord bishop, made a minute examination of the interior: Mr. Davis, Mr. Burnell, and other architects and antiquaries making many valuable remarks.

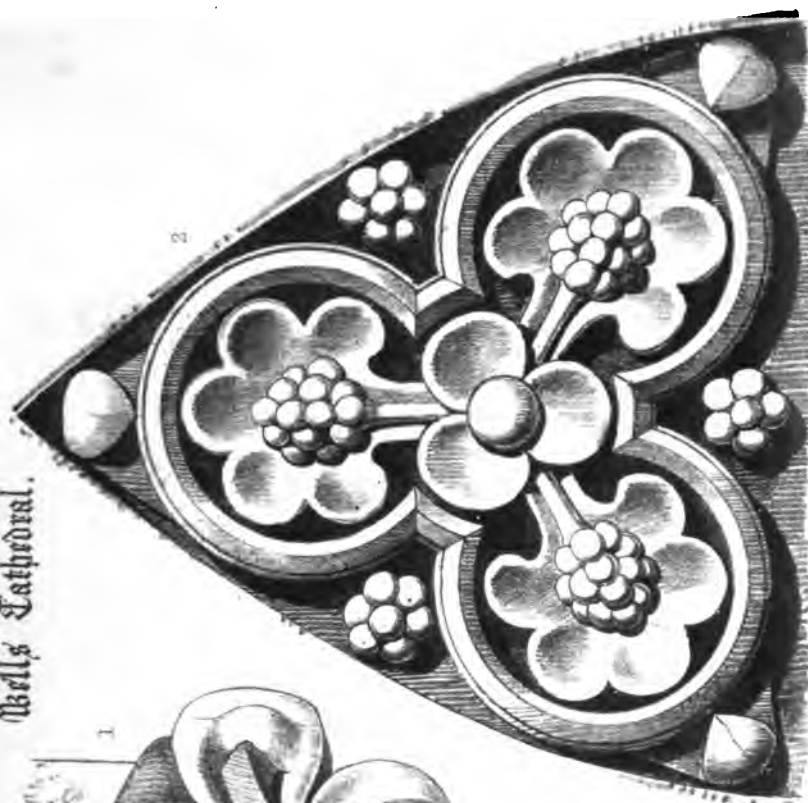
Although Wells cathedral is on a much smaller scale than many others, the disposition of its several parts, and the complete harmony exhibited in almost every arrangement, places it far before many more pretending buildings. The sculptured western façade is quite unrivaled in England, and it is merely matter of opinion whether it is excelled even at Rheims or Chartres. As already mentioned in Mr. Pettigrew's paper,¹ the building is indebted to several distinct epochs for its erection; it is remarkable how much unity of design has been studied; for it requires the attention of the most careful critic to discover, from the form alone, where the older buildings end, and the more recent commence. The junction of the lady chapel, with the square eastern end of the choir, is admirably managed, and the most picturesque and varied views are afforded by the clustering columns, which seem, at first sight, from their lightness, scarcely placed for support, but merely for effect. The eastern arches of the choir, it should be remarked, are almost lancet in form, although designed in a later style. One of the great peculiarities of Wells, as observed by Mr. Davis, is the extreme height of the triforium, which is equal to the height of the arches of the storey beneath. Not only is the height extreme, but the effect is increased by the plainness of the openings—there being no decoration whatever to them, the mouldings being continuous from the side to the apex. Beneath the central tower, stretching between the four arches, are curious double curved stone braces, which, in Mr. Davis's opinion, were erected as an additional support to the later erection of the tower; the effect is (with the exception of similar erections at Salisbury) quite unique, and although the first impression may not be favourable, still the striking boldness of

¹ See vol. xii, pp. 344-369, (Journal for Dec. 1856.)

Wells Cathedral.



STONE CORBEL

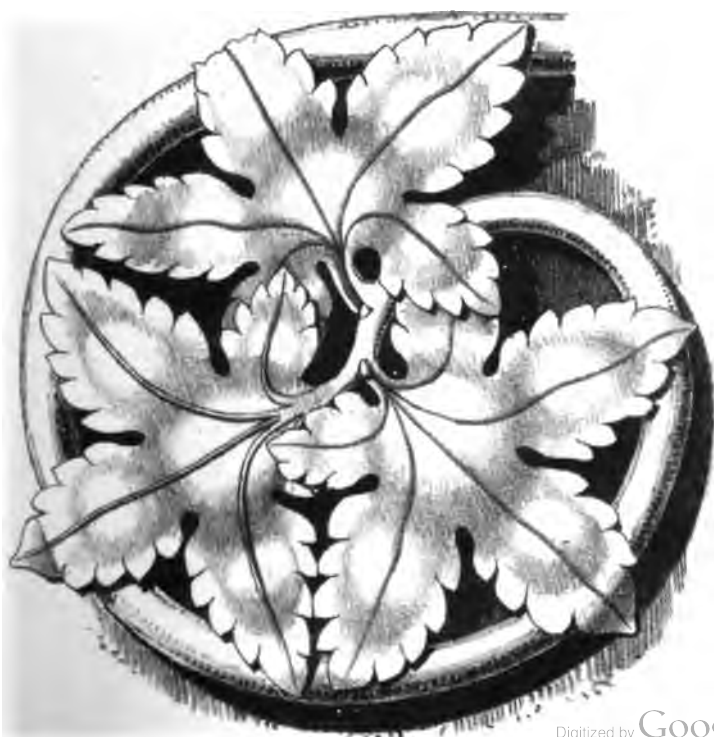


STONE SPANDRIL FROM THE TRIANGULAR SPANDIL



Wells Cathedral.
OAK STALL ELBOWS.

3



OAK CARVINO FROM THE SUBBELLE OF STALLS.

STONE BOSSES FROM THE GROINING OF
BISHOP BECKINGTON'S SHRINE.



Bells' Cathedral.

the curves, and the breadth and strength of the masonry, soon, in the opinion of some architects, make up for all first impressions. Stone halls have lately been erected in excellent taste; but we have to regret their erection as a boundary to the western end of the choir, as the line they form, with the curved braces previously spoken of, is barely harmonious. It was pertinently asked, why not leave the choir open to the nave?

The chapter-house, of octagonal form, is unusually placed above a crypt twenty feet higher than the floor of the cathedral, which is approached by steps. Beneath the windows are fifty-one canopied halls, which are decorated more elaborately in those divisions most contiguous to the cathedral. The entrance is from the south by a double archway, within an enclosing arch. Seven windows of four lights, the heads filled with geometric tracery, designed from the double triangle, afford light to the interior, and the whole is vaulted from a central shaft of small dimensions, channeled into minor columns, which give a fairy-like lightness to the whole. The crypt beneath is earlier in style than the chapter-house, and Mr. Davis was of opinion that the whole building was erected from one design, but that the work must have been discontinued, from some cause, for some period, when it was renewed by workmen more conversant with a later style. He suggested that the work had reached, at the time it was stopped, the level of the capitals of the canopies, as their mouldings were certainly of an earlier form than the canopies they supported.

We here remarked upon the general effect of the interior; that it partakes, at a first glance, of the peculiarities of one style, but on the exterior that is not the case, as the usual additions are most evident and unmistakable; still it is peculiar, that the Norman style, which is almost entirely lost in the interior, is on the exterior the most striking.

As illustrations belonging to the several periods included in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, and distinguished as early English, decorated and perpendicular, in the ornamentation of the cathedral we are enabled to submit to the Association specimens selected from the drawings made by Mr. J. K. Colling, for his work on *Gothic Ornaments*,¹ and executed by our associate, Mr. J. R. Jobbins.

These illustrations comprise:—

EARLY ENGLISH. Plate 11, fig. 1. A fine stone corbel, one-third of the full size; and fig. 2, a stone spandril; both examples taken from the triforium of the nave.

DECORATED. Plate 12, figs. 1, 2. Examples of oak stall elbows, half the full size: fig. 3, oak carving, from the *subsepta* of the stalls. Plate 13, fig. 1. A stone crocket from Arcade, in the Chapter-house.

PERPENDICULAR. Plate 13, figs. 2, 3. Stone bosses from the groining of bishop Beckington's shrine, two-thirds the full size.

¹ Published by Bell and Daldy. 2 vols., 4to.

These examples are sufficiently distinctive of the several periods to which they belong, and will be admired for the beauty of their execution.

During the examination of the interior of the cathedral, lord Auckland and Mr. Planché ascended a small and very narrow staircase to examine particularly the remarkable clock alluded to in Mr. Pettigrew's paper (vol. xii, p. 362), by Lightfoot, the monk, to whom the ingenuity of its construction has been attributed. Sedbury, the fifty-first abbot of Glastonbury, by whose order the monk is reported to have executed the work, died in 1335, and it was removed to Wells at the time of the dissolution of the monastery, *temp.* Henry VIII. If the date of its construction be correct, the figures at present moved by its machinery cannot, according to Mr. Planché, be the original, or they have undergone strange alteration. The four that circulate, in a sort of tilting match, are very clumsily carved, and have suffered some injury from the hand of time; but two of them appear to be intended for jesters; one decidedly is so, as he wears a hood with ears to it. The third is a nondescript; but the fourth is painted in the civil costume of the reign of James or Charles I, with falling collar, striped doublet, and the peaked beard and moustache of that period. The figures that strike the bell on the outside are in armour of the fifteenth century, time of Henry VI or Edward IV.

Quitting the interior of the cathedral, the exterior was subjected to a minute examination, and Mr. Pettigrew read the remainder of his paper in relation to the sculptured effigies, and the statements published by professor Cockerell upon them. Many of these were warmly disputed and dissented from, and subsequently to the congress, the subject having engaged much of Mr. Planché's attention, he submitted to the association an elaborate essay on the statuary on the west front of the cathedral (see pp. 1-33, *ante*).

The VICARS' CLOSE was the next object of attention (see pp. 34-37, *ante*). The deanery is to the north-west of the cathedral, and was built by dean Gunthorp, in the later part of the fifteenth century. Here he entertained Henry VII on his return from the west of England. It is now chiefly interesting as illustrative of some points of domestic architecture of this period. The dean being absent, the association did not proceed to make any examination of it or its contents, which it was their anxious desire to have done.

Prior to quitting Wells, a slight inspection was made of some parts of the town. The Market-place was visited, of which Leland gives an account as it appeared to him in the reign of Henry VIII.¹ The old market cross stood at the bottom of High-street, was of hewn freestone, and of an octangular form, decorated with panel work, cornice, parapet,

¹ See Itinerary, ii, 46 et seq., ed. 1744.

etc., supported by clustered columns, ranged round a central pillar.¹ There was also a conduit near to the cross, of which the latter formed the head, for the supply of water to the inhabitants, erected by bishop Beckington; and, in return for which, he required of the burgesses of Wells that they should, once in each year, pay a visit to his tomb in the cathedral, and offer up their prayers for the repose of his soul, and for those of all the faithful deceased.² Both cross and conduit have disappeared; but another has been built, which, however, has nothing to recommend it to our notice.

With the exception of certain portions of domestic architecture in connection with, and relating to, the cathedral and vicars' close, there is but little of this description now worthy of attention at Wells: the Crown inn, however, may be mentioned as a tolerable specimen of framed plastering; the framing being bracketed out and interspersed by projecting windows, mostly trussed upon a series of carved brackets. The front of this inn is towards the High-street, near the "fountain or conduit of bishop Beckington;" but the principal elevation is towards the east, now overlooking a small yard. On this front is a shield, bearing a *fleur-de-lis*. In the town are the almshouses of bishop Bubwith; which were added to by bishop Stillington, promoted to the see of Bath and Wells in 1592-93: these latter buildings are exceedingly quaint, and of a somewhat debased style, although less Elizabethan than might be expected from their date. The front contains, in the centre, a "sedilia," plainly canopied, and supporting a niche over each seat. This work, including the seats, is of stone; the canopies, the arches of which are crocketed, springing from Tuscan columns, based on the arms of the stalls.

There are four gate-houses, but three only are especially worthy of notice: two are situated west of the cathedral, one leading from the market-place to the palace, and one from the same into the cathedral close. The third is the chain-gate (previously described), connecting the vicars' close with the chapter-house and the cathedral. The first two buildings are sadly mutilated; modern windows having been allowed to be inserted, and the neighbouring buildings have also encroached much, thus materially affecting their appearance.

The extended labours of the day occasioned the return of the Association to Bridgwater at an hour too late to hold a meeting at the Town Hall; several fresh arrivals and an attendance of visitors having, however, occurred, it was resolved to hold a *conversazione* at the assembly rooms in the Clarence hotel, where a beautiful display of photographs belonging to Mr. Alger was exhibited; comprising a series of views and remarkable antiquities in the East, taken during the course of that gentleman's travels. They gave rise to many remarks, after which Mr. GABRIEL POOLE, of Bridgwater, addressed the meeting. He

¹ A view of the cross is given in Phelps's *Somersetshire*, i, 496.

² See his will, as given in Britton's *History of the Cathedral of Wells*, p. 45.

was anxious to make a few remarks on certain places in that district connected with one period of English History, viz. : the reign of Alfred the Great, and more particularly to that glorious part of it in which he emancipated this country from the Danes. He had received that morning from an aged relative of his, translated extracts from several of the old British historians on whose authority the accounts of that period which appear in the common *Histories of England* are based; and in which are found the interesting and well-known stories of king Alfred's entering the Danish camp disguised as a minstrel; and also of the reproof he received from the herdsman's wife at Athelney, for neglecting to turn her cakes. He would not take up their time by reading them at any length, but would briefly give a summary of the facts which they relate, and only read one of them. From these extracts it appeared that in the year 877 there were two Danish armies in this part of England—one of them marched from Exeter to Chippenham, and took the latter, which is called a Royal City, and wintered there. A second Danish army wintered in South Wales, whence they crossed the channel to Dumnonia, the boundary of which on this side is generally allowed to have been the river Parrett, which flows through Bridgwater. There they landed, and attacked a stronghold garrisoned by king Alfred's friends, in front of a place called by Asserius, Cynoit; but by Roger de Hoveden, Cimwick. Here the Danes suffered a decisive defeat, the garrison sallied out, slew Hubba, the king, and twelve hundred of his followers, and took the reafen standard. Now, he need not tell his neighbours that about six miles down the river Parrett, below Bridgwater, was a place called Combitch, where all the large vessels which come up the river are accustomed to lie. There was also a further corroboration of the supposition that this battle was fought in front of that place; that there is a tradition that there was a camp at Cannington park, about a mile from Combitch, where a great battle was fought, and that the bones of those killed in the battle are frequently found there. He believed also that there were still traces there of some fortified work. This victory appeared to have given Alfred confidence, for he at once began to fortify the island of Athelney (Atheluigæ, as it is there called), a small spot of rising ground near the confluence of the Tone and Parrett, where he had hidden himself, and from thence he began to make incursions on the Danish ports within his reach. After a short time, it is said that he went to Aegboyhta, on the eastern side of the forest called Selwdu (Sylva Magna), in British Coitmawr, and there assembled his forces, who received him as one risen from the dead. He did not pretend to say where Aegboyhta, or Coitmawr, might be. It had been assumed that the latter was Selwood Forest, but he was not aware on what, if any, authority; but it was improbable, as the Danes were in Chippenham in strong force, and Alfred hiding at Athelney, that he

should have collected his forces east of Chippenham. Perhaps some British scholar might be able to say whether Coitmawr had been corrupted to Dartmoor, and whether Ashbrittle, or Ashburton, might be Aegboyhta. Silverton, also between that place and Exeter, might be derived from Sylva Magna. However that might be, it was clear that the first day's march brought Alfred's army to Aecglea, where they encamped for the night. Now the manor of Aley, near Over Stowey, was well known to his neighbours, and in *Domesday Book*, Aley is called Ailgi. There is also a camp still extant near Aley, at the lower end of Cockercombe, which might have been the place of Alfred's encampment.

- The next day Alfred and his army proceeded to Ethandum, as it is called by Asserius; and Edendune, as it is called by Henry of Huntingdon; where they encountered the Danish army, and defeated them in a pitched battle, and drove them into their fortified camp. Here Alfred besieged them fourteen days, when they surrendered at discretion. Seven weeks afterwards, Gurthrum, the Danish king, was baptized at Alre, and eight days afterwards he was confirmed at the royal town of Waedmoor. The situation of this crowning victory has been claimed for Edington, in Wiltshire; but he begged to inform those visitors that there was an Eddington about fourteen miles from Ailgi, and about six miles east of Bridgwater, which seemed a more probable site; for, in the first place, it was within less than a day's march of Ailgi, and it was in the immediate neighbourhood not only of Athelney, but also of Aller and Wedmore, where the Danish king was baptized and confirmed. Mr. Poole then read a description of these eventful actions in the words of Asserius, king Alfred's chaplain, translated from the Latin; and concluded by saying, that as these great events were mainly brought about by the valour of the men of Somerset, he felt that, as their descendants, they ought, on such occasions as this, to bring to mind the great deeds of their forefathers; and that, if these events took place in the neighbourhood of Bridgwater, they ought not to allow themselves to be deprived of the honour of calling them their own, unless some other county could shew a better right to them.

Mr. Poole was followed by the Rev. W. A. Jones and Mr. Stradling, and also by Mr. Black, who observed that he had assisted sir Richard Hoare in one part of his *History of Wiltshire*, and that he had paid particular attention to the claims of Eddington, in Wiltshire, and to the site of Alfred's celebrated battle, and he felt bound to say that he considered the Somersetshire Edington, mentioned by Mr. Poole, to have the better claim. The party then separated.

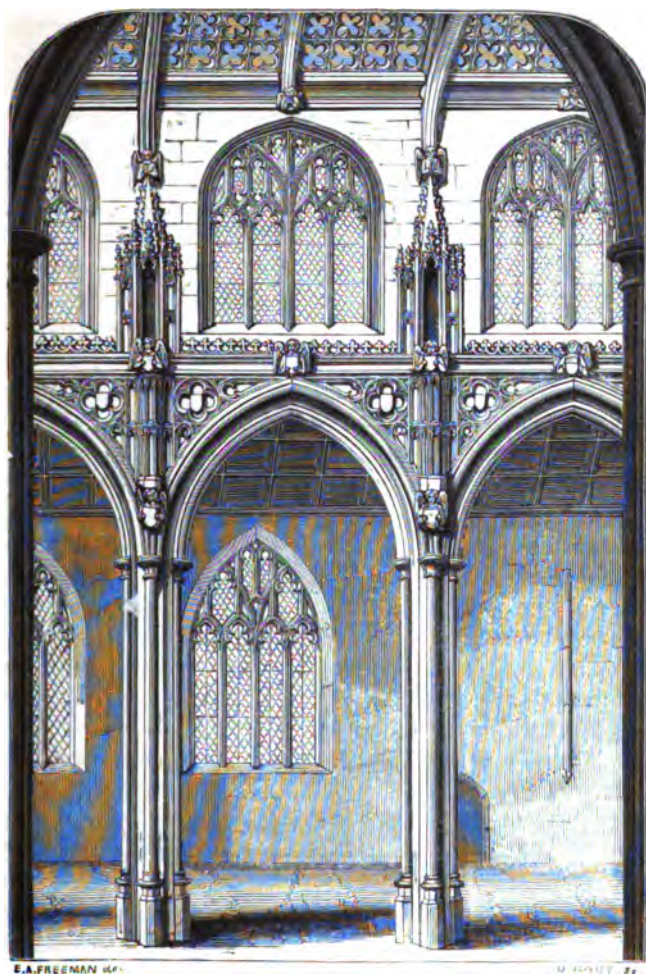
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 27.

By an early train the Association quitted Bridgwater for Martock, under the guidance of the superintendent of the Bristol and Exeter railway,

whose exertions to accommodate the members and visitors deserve to be gratefully acknowledged. At Martock they were joined by George Godwin, esq., F.R.S., V.P., who conducted them over the church, pointing out its original beauties and its present deformities. A very general wish was expressed in relation to the columns, etc., which disfigure the east end of the church; and it was resolved to recommend their removal, and to re-open a magnificent five-light lancet window still existing at this part. The original open wooden roof of the church (on which two dates of 1591 and 1603 were seen, though the body of the church belongs to the fifteenth century) was much and deservedly admired, and reminded many of the visitors of some in Norfolk. The church is, for the most part, of the perpendicular period, and corresponds with the account given by Mr. Pettigrew in his introductory paper (vol. xii, p. 306). The nave is very fine, and the Association are indebted to the Somersetshire society for the use of the accompanying plate in illustration of it. (See plate 14.)

In the churchyard, against the wall at the west end, Mr. Planché examined two effigies of the fourteenth century, as far as he was enabled to judge from their present dilapidated condition: they have been made to do duty as top stones of two vaults of recent construction, the sides being composed of grave stones of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The injuries from exposure to weather, and other causes, prevented his speaking positively as to the date of the effigies; but one appeared, by the remains of the head dress, to be that of a female of the reign of Richard II. It may, however, be as late as that of Henry VI; but Mr. Planché was inclined to believe in the earlier date. Collinson says that it was supposed to be "one of the Fieules' family," and that "there were several others, but they have been long since removed." This would make it still earlier, as the manor appears to have passed from the family of Fieules to that of Montacute, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Edward III, A.D. 1340.

Having inspected Martock, the Association proceeded to Stoke-sub-Hamdon—a church of peculiar interest; it is a Norman structure, with various insertions, and a south chapel of the early decorated period, with a range of four-lights on each side. A low side window (sometimes called a lychnoscope, and sometimes a vulne window) on each side of the chancel; a squint, or hagnioscope, on each side of the chancel arch; and what may be the remains of a stone altar, at the end of the chancel, are amongst the noticeable points. On the south side of the latter there is a large piscina, with shelf above, placed anglewise. It is a cruciform church, without aisles, but with a vaulted porch on the north side at the west end. It has not fallen to our lot, in any congress, to visit a more interesting church. Originally, we believe the church to have consisted of merely a nave and chancel. The chancel arch still remains, and there are evidences of windows of the same date, in various parts of the church,



NAVE OF MARTOCK CHURCH.

but especially on the south side, all more or less decorated with surface ornament. The chancel arch is of most importance; it is doubly recessed, furnished with columns, the shafts of which are carved with the zig-zag and other ornaments. The capitals support an inscribed abacus, from which spring a series of mouldings (one of which is an incised zig-zag), all circumscribed by a singular hollow moulding occupying the position of a hood. The soffit of the arch is very uncommon, being a large cylindrical, or roll moulding, which forms also the impost, and is uninterrupted in its course, if we except a very small band ranging with the neck moulding of the columns. Of the same date as the chancel arch are two doorways; one to the south, destroyed by the insertion of a perpendicular; and one to the north, the present entrance to the church. The latter has been mutilated by the vaulting of the porch in the decorated period. On the semicircular tympanum, above the straight head of the door, are various rude sculptures, consisting of a tree in the centre, with three large birds amongst the foliage: on the left, or east side of this, is a representation of the archer of the Zodiac, marked at the side, in Byzantine fashion, Sagittarius; and on the other side an animal inscribed Leo, and a representation of the Agnus Dei. The tree, Mr. Planché suggested to be an allusion to Stocke, the old name of the place, *Stoc* being Saxon for trunk; or the whole might be a rebus of Beau Champ—the manor having been granted to the lords Beauchamp, of Hatch, on the rebellion of William, earl of Moreton, against Henry II.

This church did not remain long in its original form, as in early English times transepts were added, when the chancel was also in great part rebuilt. The tower surmounts the northern transept, and is raised upon a vault, springing from vaulting shafts, with foliated capitals. It is of three stages: the upper having two lancet windows on each face; the whole is perpendicular, embattled, and has once had pinnacles at the angles in addition. The entrance to the rood loft is by a staircase in the eastern wall of the tower, and as the wall was not found thick enough for the purpose, a projection has been made on the exterior, which was again buttressed,—an arrangement giving a most admirable effect to the tower, as it removes every appearance of stiffness which might otherwise have been the result of so square an unbuttressed building. The south transept communicates with the nave by a good early English arch, once recessed, the lower members being supported by the bell-shaped capitals of the period. The window, to the south, is decorated; but on each side the original windows remain, two ranges of trefoiled lancets marking the dates as later than the transept to the north. Both in the choir and transept there are cinquefoiled piscinas placed across the southern angle. The whole of the church has been much remodeled, together with the addition of several windows in the perpendicular and decorated period; but

none of these alterations can be said to be improvements on the former building. The doorway would seem to belong to the end of the eleventh, or beginning of the twelfth century. King Stephen, who reigned from 1135 to 1154, Mr. Godwin remarked, bore Sagittarius as a device. The archer occurs in the tympanum, above alluded to. The cill of a window on the south side of the nave, projects to throw off the wet—an arrangement not usual in mediæval work. In the interior is a Norman font, and inserted in the wall, to the west of the porch, appears to be a canopy, or hearse of an early English tomb; but so little remains, that it is too hazardous to venture an opinion regarding it. In reply to some inquiries made by the worthy minister of Stoke in relation to alterations, it was suggested that it would be better to take off the whole of the plastering, which, in several instances, covers the old stone work, and to paint the fabric throughout.

Mr. Pettigrew, Mr. Daniel Gurney, Mr. Planché, and Mr. John Moore particularly visited the ancient manor-house, usually denominated the college, which belonged to Matthew de Gournay, an ancestor of Mr. Daniel Gurney, who embraced the opportunity to make several interesting sketches of this ancient place. Proceeding then to Hamden hill, Mr. Vere Irving alluded to some points relating to the earthworks; but rain having fallen, and the ground thereby rendered very slippery, the Association were deterred from making the ascent, a work of no little difficulty. The party, therefore, passed on to Montacute, where the church, priory and ancient house were examined.

Of the CHURCH, we have already stated¹ it to contain much early work, and to have a Norman chancel arch of three orders. It belongs to the turning point between early English and decorated, and is dedicated to St. Catherine. It consists of a nave, chancel, and two side aisles. The tower at the west end is perpendicular, and battlemented with four pinnacles. The chancel arch is plain Norman, of three recesses. The transept arches—the south early English, the north decorated. Beneath the tower is a perpendicular font and a cover, all carved in Hamden hill stone. The cover is conical octangular, like the font, with the sides paneled. In the churchyard is a much mutilated canopied cross. The church contains many mural monuments, erected to several members of the family of Phelips, which are well known. The porch, or gateway leading to MONTACUTE PRIORY, is now the only remarkable portion of this once celebrated Cluniac monastery remaining, there being only indistinct traces of the other portions left, which can be, with some difficulty, found in an adjoining field. The foundation of the Priory has been ascribed by Tanner to the time of the Conqueror, but more generally regarded to have been the act of William de Mortaigne.² It was much enlarged in the reign of Henry I. by prior Reginald, who was

¹ See vol. xii, p. 307. ² See Leland and the charter of endowments in Dugdale.

chancellor to this sovereign, and who is recorded by Leland to have converted the remains of the castle on the mount into a beautiful chapel, "rofed all wyth stone, covered verye artyfycyallye, dedicated to St. Mychell, vawted within, with stayres made with stone from the fote of the hyll to the toppe."¹ Although of so early a foundation, the remnants left partake entirely of the perpendicular, if we except portions added since the dissolution in 1539, when the priory was surrendered to the king by Robert Whitelocke, the last prior, to whom was granted a yearly pension of £80, a gratuity of £20, and the capital messuage of East Chinnock as a residence. According to Dugdale,² in the 38rd of Henry VIII, it was granted to sir Thomas Wyatt, but afterwards vested in the crown, from whom it was leased, in the 2nd and 3rd of Philip and Mary, for the term of forty years, by Elizabeth Strowde. In the 26th of Elizabeth, the site was granted to the earl of Leicester, whence it appears, according to Collinson,³ to have become the property of sir William Petre, and sold by him to Mr. Robert Freke, who afterwards parted with it to the family of Phelps, the present possessors. At the present time the building may be said to be comprised of a groined archway, flanked on the exterior by two bold octagonal towers, one of which is of greater height than the other, and breaks the line of the battlements. Over the entrance on either side is a fine oriel window of six lights, simply arched, and based upon a sill-moulding; under which is a series of quatrefoiled panels, immediately surmounting a succession of receding mouldings that form the support of the window. Above the lights are similar quatrefoils, crowned by a cornice and battlement. The centre battlement to one window contains a representation of the arms of England; and in the other are the initial letters T. C., beneath a mitre, probably indicative of Thomas Chard, who was prior of the monastery, and summoned to the Convocation in 1515. The *Builder* (iii, 362) gives an excellent representation of the gatehouse to the old priory. The back, front, and the porch, were added to it in the reign of Henry VIII. There is only one room now retaining its ancient appearance; the ceiling is formed of the open joists and girders of the floor above; they are of oak, and richly moulded.

The village of Montacute, the priory, and the church are still of so similar a style, and modern improvements have left so few traces, that a visit to the village gives a first impression of having lighted upon a town and people of a past generation. The stone, from its peculiar orange colour, having not the appearance of age, but merely the effect of stability. Every cottage possesses its little oriel, arched doorway, and picturesque chimney-shaft; and the wide street, as it slightly curves, enticingly conducts to the residence of the squire, visible in the distance.

¹ Cotton. MS., Julius, F. vi.

² Monasticon, v, 164.

³ Hist. of Somersetshire, iii, 333.

In Mr. Parker's list of houses licensed to crenellate in the reigns of Henry III, Edward I and Edward II (extending from 1256-1327), it is rather remarkable, that one instance only occurs, in Somersetshire, in the fourth year of the reign of Edward II, to Simon de Monte Acuto, "a mansum at Yardlyngton." This Simon de Montacute served in many expeditions into Wales in the reign of Edward I, from whom he obtained a confirmation of the manor of Shepton Montacute, including Yarlington. He attended the king at Portsmouth, and sailed thence to Gascony, distinguishing himself by his great valour. He was afterwards engaged in the Scottish wars, and became governor of Corfe castle in Dorsetshire. In the reign of Edward II he was appointed governor of the castle of Beaumaris in Anglesey, and was also admiral of the king's fleet. He married the daughter of Fergusius, king of the Isle of Man, by whom he had two children, William and Simon. Most houses of importance of this time were fortified, and licenses to crenellate could only be granted by the suzerain. The licenses granted in the 14th and 15th centuries are preserved in the Patent Rolls at the Tower, and have been made out for Mr. Parker, who is engaged on a work on the "*Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages in England.*" He is desirous of gaining every information in regard to the crenellated houses, and will be thankful to learn if any and what portions now remain. Of the 'mansum' at Yarlington nothing is now to be seen.

Montacute House of this day (over which, by the kindness of Captain Phelps, the Association were permitted to ramble and examine in every way they pleased, and for which courtesy our best thanks were merited) was built by the ancestor of the present possessor, sir Edward Phelps, serjeant to queen Elizabeth, between the years 1580 and 1601. It is a fine building of the period, although it cannot be said to boast of the refinement of taste especially distinguishable in some erections of this time. The east front is pierced by no less than forty-one Tudor windows; and the spaces between those windows, on the second story, are occupied by statues. There are three stories, and the entrance is in the centre of each elevation. Over the front entrance door is an inscription:—

And yours, my friends.

And on the back entrance,

Through this wide opening
None come too early,
None return too late.

The lodge doors had formerly inscriptions, said to have been:—

Remember the hours.

And

Welcome the coming,
Speed the parting guest.

Of the interior, the hall is more particularly deserving of notice, having its singing gallery and stone screen;¹ and also the representation, in large bas-relief, of rather coarse execution, of stangriding, or riding the skimmington or skimming, a mode of punishing certain delinquencies, or of ridiculing a man who allows his wife to beat him, still followed in some parts of the country. It consists in making him to ride a wooden horse in procession, with the accompaniment of much noise. One end of the bas-relief shows an interior where the husband, who has visited the beer barrel, having accidentally pulled out the spigot, has been forced to put his finger in its place to prevent the waste of the beer, and being so discovered by the wife, is receiving a castigation: the other half displays the mock procession. This ceremony is similar to one known in Wales as the *Ceffit-prew*.

There is an excellent view of the north entrance to Montacute House in the *Builder* (vii, 330). The screen is of the latest Tudor Gothic style, and much older than the building itself, having been brought from Clifden Hall, an old Gothic residence of the Phelipeses, pulled down at the time of the building of the present mansion. Specimens of this description are rare. It is so placed that a passage has been obtained which connects the two wings, the centre being only one room in depth. There are two staircases of similar size, exceedingly plain, occupying a projection at either end of the central division. The windows which light the staircase are placed according to the ascent; they therefore, on the exterior, distinctly mark the position of the staircase. The upper chamber of the house occupies almost entirely the whole area, and is a noble and well-lighted room, well calculated for the assembly, in olden times, of the country squires and their families. It measures 185 feet in length, and is 21 feet in breadth. It is in part furnished with some very good furniture of the Elizabethan period, and we particularly remarked the great sliding "flapped" tables. The gallery is reported to have contained a valuable collection of books, which were destroyed during the wars of the Commonwealth. The Phelips of that period being an enthusiastic and devoted royalist, the house was sacked by the Parliamentary soldiery, and subsequently the house was occupied by Oliver Cromwell himself. The house, although built at the latter end of the sixteenth century, is therefore not all of one style, the northern elevation having the addition of work once forming part of the Tudor mansion, Clifden hall. This portion exhibits a very pretty specimen of the style, its angular pedestals supporting grotesque figures, holding shields; its pierced parapet and singularly enriched panelling over the central entrance. The terraced garden, arranged in Italian style, with balustrades, steps, fountain, stone summer-houses, etc., is very beautiful; nor can we omit to record the harmonious arrangement of the colours of

¹ A good representation of which may be seen in the *Builder*, vi, 42.

the flowers, by which those charming grounds were so tastefully embellished.

These places having been duly inspected, and thanks returned to Captain Phelips for his most polite and friendly reception, the Association passed on to Brympton church and house, the latter of which had been most kindly thrown open to the visitors by lady Georgiana Fane.

BRYMPTON altogether presents an interesting and uncommon group, formed by the church, the residence, and a mediæval domestic building, supposed to have been the residence of a chantry priest. Brympton church is in good preservation, and has been described (vol. xii, p. 307). The stone rood screen was much admired. In the churchyard, rapidly decaying, the Association lamented to observe several most interesting effigies, dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries.¹ Those of a knight and lady, of the thirteenth century, are close against the wall. One of a lady, of the reign of Henry V, exhibiting a fine specimen of the horned head-dress of that period, lies in the middle of the churchyard, and near it are two others, perhaps of the fourteenth century; but their state renders it difficult to decide with anything like precision.

The remains of a fine canopy, which probably surmounted the tomb of the lady with the horned head-dress, were dug out of the churchyard, and about to be broken to pieces, but have been fortunately preserved from utter destruction by our associate, Mr. Moore, of Yeovil, who has favoured us with a drawing of it, which will be engraved in a future *Journal*. In one spandril is a curious representation of the Adoration of the Magi; in the other, the Annunciation. In the centre are two circles: that to the right exhibits a hand pointing out of clouds; the device in the other is unfortunately defaced.

Brympton House is of considerable interest. The principal front presents Italian architraves, window caps, cornices, etc., with the mullions and transom of the Tudor period. It has been ascribed, by Walpole and others, to Inigo Jones, and there appears good reason for the assignment. A portion of the house, however, belongs to the reign of Henry VII. The house contains some good specimens of tapestry, and excellent portraits by sir Peter Lely and other eminent artists.

The party now proceeded, under the able guidance of John Moore, esq., to Yeovil, and having partaken of refreshment; paid a visit to the church.

YEOVIL CHURCH was built in the fifteenth century, and its tower stands grandly. It is of the perpendicular style of architecture, so general in this country, and from its peculiar lightness in effect, has

¹ It will gratify our readers to learn that these have been, in accordance with our suggestions, protected against further injury. Nothing could exceed the alacrity with which measures have been adopted to preserve these interesting monuments by those to whose care they are entrusted.

been called "The Lantern of the West". The tower at the west is 90 feet in height; the church is 146 feet in length, and the breadth 50 feet: the transept measures 80 feet. Of this church Mr. E. Freeman has justly remarked:—"Here we do not immediately note down some individual capital or window which attracts our attention; the eye is not drawn away to contemplate a font of singular design, or sedilia of unusual arrangement; the most gorgeous display of monumental splendour is postponed for subsequent and secondary consideration; it is the real triumph of the noblest of arts which rivets the attention;—it is the one grand and harmonious whole which lifts the mind in admiration of an effect as perfect in its own way, as truly the work of real design and artistic genius, as Cologne or Winchester or St. Ouen's. The graceful arches rise from the tall and slender columns with just as much connexion as continuous effort requires,—just enough distinction to hinder the ascent from being too painfully rapid.¹ Above, the windows of the clerestory agreeably relieve the recesses of the massive timber roof, and unite it into one whole with the arcades beneath. The roof itself, borne on shafts rising uninterruptedly from the ground, is proclaimed as no botch or afterthought, but an essential portion of the great design; or else it rests on the more elaborate support of angels and niches, once exhibiting the choicest display of the subsidiary arts. The stone vault alone is wanting to rank such piles with cathedrals and mitred abbeys; it is, however, represented in the main body by its noblest substitutes, and its own splendours are reserved for the western belfry or the central lantern. Here, supported on its four lofty arms, it forms the crown of the whole edifice; there the soaring paneled arch—the spreading fan-tracery beyond,—the tall and wide western window finishing the whole vista, make us feel that the stately towers of Wrington and Axbridge and Kingsbury are but the beacons to guide us to the still higher splendours which are reserved for those who shall tread within the consecrated walls."²

Whilst we thus commend this beautiful building, it is incumbent upon us to say, that the interior is sadly disfigured with white and yellow wash, of which it should be relieved. There is a fine brass lectern with the following inscription, which has puzzled many a reader:—

*Precebus nūc precor cernuis hinc epa rogare
Frat' Martin' florestor vita bigilet que beate.*

Which Mr. Black has translated,—“I now pray you, beseech ye hence (alas) with your humble prayers, that brother Martin Forester may be awake in a blessed life.”

Inscriptions on lecterns are uncommon; and if the preceding had not

¹ See History of Architecture, p. 389.

² Proceedings of the Somersetshire Society, iii, p. 29.

been found upon one, it would probably have occasioned some difficulty to understand it, as it appears to refer to a breviary that doubtless was upon it. The inscription is in two lines, and occurs twice on the lectern with very trifling variation, in regard to contraction of the words, p'c̃r for p'cc̃r. Above the inscription is the figure of a priest. It is of the latter part of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. From the church the Association proceeded to examine a collection of ancient and modern art, which had been very meritoriously and successfully brought together by the Literary Institution of the place. It was altogether highly creditable to the locality; and we were pleased to see the names of the chief nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood encouraging such an undertaking. The objects which most interested the Association may be thus enumerated:—Flint arrow-head and coal money, found in an ancient British tumulus at Sulwood; an ancient British urn, from Dorsetshire; another from Dorchester; ancient sword-blade and bronze celts, from Ham hill; ancient quern stones; part of a shrine from Glastonbury Abbey; a fine ivory carving of the thirteenth century; portion of a twenty-four inch gauge-rule and an iron ladle, found in the walls of the tower of St. John's church, Yeovil, belonging to the fifteenth century; and various illuminated books, principally psalters, books of offices, homilies, etc. The Association has been permitted to have drawings made of some of these interesting subjects, through the kind assistance of Mr. Moore, and they will appear in future numbers of the *Journal*.

In the course of this progress, in a cottage, was observed a remarkably beautiful finial of a cross, which had formerly stood in the churchyard. Great interest was felt in this relic, which, by Mr. Black, Mr. Planché, Mr. Pettigrew, and Mr. Davis, was esteemed to belong to the reign of Edward III. It represented on one side the Crucifixion, and on the other, a floriated cross. It is in Ham stone, and altogether a very spirited and clever piece of sculpture. We shall endeavour to obtain a drawing of this interesting relic.

Returning to Bridgwater, an ordinary was held at the Clarence, where satisfaction at the proceedings and mutual goodwill were strongly expressed on the part of members and visitors, particularly of the Local Somersetshire Archæological Society; and a meeting was subsequently held at the Town Hall, where Mr. George Vere Irving read his paper "On the Cissbury Group of Camps in Sussex, and the evidence afforded by them in illustration of the modes by which we can determine the nation to which the construction of any particular earthwork entrenchment may belong," which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*. A discussion ensued, and the evening terminated by the reading of a paper "On Rayed Banners, and the earliest Armorial Charges," by Mr. J. Gilbert French, of Bolton, which will also appear in the *Journal*.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 28.

The Association quitted Bridgwater for Clevedon, at 11 a.m., proceeding by train. The church was the first object of attention. It stands a short distance from the end of a steep and rugged cliff, which juts out into the sea. It is a cruciform church, with a central tower, has a south aisle and a south porch, and is dedicated to St. Andrew. It is of very early formation; the arch into the northern transept exhibiting early Norman, and the tower, which it partly supports, is apparently of the same date—that is to say, the lower story up to the corbel-table; the upper one being a much later addition. The chancel is Norman, but many additions have been made to it, and the general characteristic is now perpendicular; the side windows are also square headed.

The great feature in the whole church is the Norman chancel arch; the recessed columns have incised ornaments, and support a beautiful architrave, formed from a square on plan, but pierced, leaving chevrons, the points touching at the angle of the square, the interval disclosing a roundel or shaft. Although this arch bears every impress of the circular style, it appears, at first sight, like many others of the same date, to have originally been equilaterally pointed, but the thrust of the arch having spread out the imposts, the pointed form is destroyed. Mr. Davis was, however, of opinion that this was not the case, as upon a careful examination it was found that the stones, or voussoirs of the arch, would not form any portion of a pointed arch, or even of a circular one. The arch could never really have been built upon any principle of an arch, but was merely a *form* between a stilted circular arch and a pointed one. It must, therefore, have been built by workmen ignorant of the true principles; but who, Mr. Davis suggested, probably, had seen or heard of the new introduction of pointed Gothic, and were anxious to adopt it.

The transepts forming the arms of the cross, are right and left of the tower; that to the south being of exceedingly good dimensions. In the southern wall is an arched recess of early decorated character, formerly the canopy of a tomb. The windows, east and west, are early decorated, but that to the south is fine perpendicular, well designed and proportioned. Externally this transept is bold and picturesque, the angles being supported by early decorated buttresses not placed as usually is the case in that style. Upon entering the churchyard, the transept at once claims attention from its form and situation, grouped with a central tower, and the almost subservient porch and nave. The nave is separated from the south aisle by decorated recessed arches, without capitals or imposts, the increased thickness above the pillars being corbelled out, producing an un-

pleasant effect. The western window is of three lights, decorated of rather unique character—the centre light not only running into the apex of the window, but budding over on the side light, forming a “trefoil slipped.” The interior of the church has lately been renovated in pretty good taste, the new work being principally carried out in the manner of that which remains intact. The font cover is perpendicular, paneled, of a conical form. In the churchyard are the remains of a cross.

The church contains a fine incised slab, which in *Murray's Handbook for Dorset and Somerset*, is said to represent “the effigy of sir Thomas Clevedon, full armed, and resting his feet on a bull.” On what authority the statement is made does not appear. Mr. Planché can find no sir Thomas Clevedon at the date indicated by the armour, and if it be “sir Thomas” (for the arms and inscription are worn out) he is inclined to ascribe it to sir Thomas Lovel, who married Joan, sister of Edmund Hagshaw, the son of Emmeline, daughter and heir of Edmund de Clivedon. Some small fragments of the effigy of a knight of the time of Henry III, consisting of part of the head and pieces of the limbs, were exhibited as the remains of a monument that had formerly existed here. There is, also, a pretty effigy of a child, of the reign of James or Charles I.

Thence the party proceeded to Clevedon court, where, in the absence of sir Arthur Hallam Elton, bart., Mr. Pyzie, captain and Mrs. Goddard had been deputed to do the honours of the mansion. On Clevedon court Mr. Davis read an interesting paper, which will be printed in the *Journal*, and he conducted the party through the several rooms and passages of the house, exhibiting its architectural peculiarities; after which the company, numbering upwards of a hundred in number, sat down, in the hall, to an elegant entertainment. Mr. Pettigrew proposed the health of the possessors of the mansion, and alluded to the combination of intellectual refinement and artistic taste which has distinguished the family. He made, also, some feeling remarks in relation to his friend Mr. Hallam, the celebrated historian, who married the daughter of the late sir Abraham Elton. There is a fine copy of the celebrated portrait of Mr. Hallam, together with other very valuable and interesting portraits, in the hall. Having returned thanks to Mr. Pyzie, captain and Mrs. Goddard, for their kind attentions, and the same being acknowledged by captain Goddard; Mr. Davis's (the architect) health was appropriately drunk,—and the party proceeded to view the church of Weston-in-Gordano. The rain which had fallen whilst at Clevedon court, prevented the party from proceeding to Walton castle and church, and to Cadbury camp. They, together with Clapton-in-Gordano church, were obliged to be omitted. The church at Weston-in-Gordano is dedicated to St. Paul, and is a very interesting structure. It consists of a nave and south porch, a chancel and south chapel, with

a tower attached to the west end of the chapel, and south wall of the nave. The chancel is of the perpendicular style, and well roofed with oak, the framing of which is slightly foliated, springing from a stone cornice. The east window is a remarkably good specimen of a five-light window of the style, the tracery being well balanced and arranged; there are three other windows, square headed, of good design.

To the south of the altar is a plain piscina, and in the same wall is a good shafted perpendicular arch, communicating with the south, or chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, which is also entered by a priest's, or small doorway from the exterior, also to the south. The chapel is lighted on the east by a three-light plain square headed perpendicular window, and beneath it are the marks indicating the former existence of an altar. Brackets to tabernacles, on each side, remain—the one on the Gospel side being enriched.

The chancel is separated from the nave by a screen, of very plain perpendicular design, of the same character as the stalls in the chancel, of which there are twelve. They have plain *misereres*, but no canopies. The screen, although very plain, originally supported a rood, as the stone staircase still remains leading *directly* to it from the lower story of the tower. Over the screen is a plain arch, supporting a very pretty *sancte* bellcot on the exterior, which is still the recipient of a bell.

The nave is as well roofed as the chancel, except that the framing is wagon headed, or barrel shaped. It is lighted by windows in almost the same style as the chancel, but of a somewhat plainer character. To the north, is a circular headed doorway with perpendicular details, and opposite is the doorway from the south porch, which is of the usual perpendicular form. The porch is plain, but is fitted with the remains of a loft across, the northern end still retaining evidence of chromatic decoration. This loft is approached by a stone staircase in the eastern wall. To the right of the doorway, from the porch, is a good *benitier*. The nave bears every appearance of having been in connection with the tower as the lady chapel, the original church, as, on the northern side of the chancel arch is the bracket of a tabernacle; and on the southern side, a decorated piscina. Communicating also with the tower, is a decorated archway, now stopped up, and a small one, in thickness of wall, forming the canopy to a very plain octangular stone pulpit, not at present used. The base of the tower has been somewhat modernized, and is now approached by a small perpendicular archway from the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene. The exterior is plain, without buttresses, and is evidently Norman, although there are lancet windows in the upper story. In the north wall of the nave is a monument, bearing the date of 1483, erected to the memory of Richard and Catherine Percival.

The nave is fitted with plain old oak seats, and opposite the south door is a Norman columnar font. The church, with the exception of the

tower and other portion just pointed out, appears to have been the work of sir James Percival, whose family held the manor of Weston for many generations; and one of whose ancestors, sir Richard de Percival, attended Richard I. to Palestine, in 1190, and is said to have been, with his master, a most powerful and valiant knight.

Tickenham church formed the last object of inspection for this day. Tickenham church consists of a chancel, nave, north and south aisles, south porch, and western tower, and is dedicated to St. Quiricus and Julietta. The east window, lighting the chancel, is of three lights, in the decorated style, but it is not well proportioned. Amongst the tracery are several armorial bearings in stained glass:—First, *argent* on a canton dexter *gules*, a quatrefoil *or*; second, *gules* a chevron, between ten crosses pattées *argent*, Berkeley; three *gules* on a chevron *or*; three estoiles *sable*, four *or*; three pallets *gules*, on a canton, a cross pattée *argent*. In the north of the chancel are two-light square decorated windows, and on the opposite wall is a plain decorated piscina, and two flat soffited, two centre arches without columns, or even impost moulding; one is partially walled up to springing by a plain screen, which serves to separate two bays of the south aisles from the chancel. These two bays, probably, have formerly been distinct from the aisle as the lady chapel, the roof being somewhat different: it is plain ribbed and plastered, as is, indeed, the whole of the church; but that of the aisle must formerly have been of better design, having carved brackets and knee pieces.

The east window is three light, decorated; the centre light running up above, springing off the side one into the apex of a window, and is slightly foliated; in it is a fragment of stained glass—our Lord in the act of benediction. Under are the remains of an altar, and a rather pretty, but simple decorated piscina. The two windows to the south, one of one-light and the other of two, are in the same style, the latter containing a fragment of glass, “Our Lord on the Cross.”

The abutment to the chancel arch is the only separation from the aisle, and evidently contains a staircase to a former rood screen. The chancel arch itself is the oldest portion of the church, being of the rudest Norman. The nave is of three bays, the arches on either side corresponding, and being (inconsistently with many quite ornate features in the church) plain, precisely as arches to the south of the chancel. It is not improbable but that they have once been much more beautiful, as two small angular columns (one of which has a good foliated early English capital) enrich one of the piers, making it very possible that the arches have been once good early English, but have subsequently been hewn into smaller and barer proportions; but it is difficult to speak with accuracy, as thick lime white covers everything.

The eastern window is of three lights, and is very good perpendicular it was originally filled with stained glass. The two easternmost windows

are of two lights, decorated; they are fine specimens of the square headed windows of the style, having very good tracery in the head, in one of which, with other remains of stained glass, are the following armorial bearings:—First, *or*, three pallets *gules*, within a bordure *azure* bezantée, Basset; second, quarterly *gules* and *or*, a bend *argent*, Fitz-Nicholas.

There are two other windows, lancet, but slightly foliated. The tower to the west is open to the church, and has, with a fine four-light window, a very lofty and well proportioned arch. The south aisle is mostly perpendicular, excepting only the eastern window, which is a very good early decorated, of two lights.

The south porch is entered from the exterior by a bold and well designed early English arch, with attached columns and octagonal caps. The porch contains a somewhat rude *benitier*, and the arch to the church is as wanting in character.

The font is particularly good, and stands in the south aisle in its original position; it is early English, being a square block, standing on four distinct columns, the sides of the cube being worked into foliated arches. The exterior of the church is decidedly effective; the western tower being well proportioned, with an octagonal turret, but as the parapet is entirely gone, much of its beauty is lost. The south porch forms an important feature, and is worthy of an accurate drawing; the south aisle is *perpendicularized* by a panneled parapet, but the whole of the remaining portion still retains its original decorated character—the windows of which are devoid of hood mouldings. In the churchyard is a remnant of a perpendicular cross, and two very fine yew trees, and at the gate is the lopping, or upping stock, to assist the ladies of a former day on to their pillion.

Close to the church is the Manor house, once the property of the De Tickenhams; a portion of it is a good specimen of later domestic architecture, and is fully deserving of attention. We hope, at a future day, to give an illustration of it, and a paper.

Upon the effigies in Tickenham church, Mr. Planché has afforded us the following information:

“In this church we found three very fine sepulchral effigies of the thirteenth century. Two knights and a lady, the latter in a costume and head-dress similar to that of Avelina, countess of Lancaster, in Westminster abbey. The knights, cross-legged, in armour, all of chain, with surcoats open in front, and all the characteristics of the reign of Henry III or beginning of Edward I; but no indication of any heraldic insignia by which their family could be ascertained. The manor was, however, in the possession of the Berkeley family from the time of Henry II; and from the valuable MS. records of the *Lives of the Berkeleys*, by John Smith, esq., M.P. for Midhurst in 1620 (who was himself descended from the Tickenham branch), and which are preserved in the College of

Arms, I am enabled to add some information to that which Mr. Collinson affords us on this point. Robert Fitz Harding, lord of Berkeley, possessed the manor and advowson of Tickenham, and gave them to his second son, Nicholas Fitz Robert Fitz Harding, who by his marriage with Ala, daughter and co-heir of Guido son of Tecius de Tickenham,¹ greatly increased his property in that neighbourhood. Nicholas died the 5th of May, 6th of Richard I (A.D. 1195), leaving three sons, viz., Henry, Roger, and Jordan, and one daughter, named after her mother, Ala, who married Ralph Bloet. Henry died without issue, and Roger Fitz Nicholas succeeded to the lordship of Tickenham, having married Hawisia, or Avicia, daughter of Ralph and sister and heir of Gervase Paganell, and widow of John de Somery. Roger Fitz Nicholas died 15th of Henry III, A.D. 1230-31, and one of the knightly effigies may fairly be supposed to represent him. The other may be that of his son Nicholas, who died 46th of Henry III, A.D. 1261-62, and who for 'the health of his own soul, and for the souls of Sybil and Wentlyan, his two wives, granted to the hospital of Billeswick, in Bristol, the privilege of digging turf in his manor at Tickenham'. Sybil is said by Smith to have been 'heir to the manor of Elmore' (county Gloucester), in which case she was nearly related to John de Burgh, son of the celebrated Hubert de Burgh, and married, secondly, to Nicholas de Gyse: for I find that in the same year that Nicholas Fitz Roger died, viz., 46th of Henry III, John de Burgh, called the elder, gave her with that manor to Nicholas de Gyse aforesaid, who assumed thereon the arms of De Burgh.² If this deduction be correct, it is so far important, that it proves Sybil to have been the second wife of Nicholas Fitz Roger, and having survived him and remarried De Gyse, she probably died and was buried in Gloucestershire. The effigy of the lady would therefore more likely be that of Wentlyan, the first wife, and the mother of his son and heir, Ralph de Tickenham, who did homage for his lands on the death of his father, and died 19th of Edward I. Of his wife I find no record, but he left a son and heir, Nicholas, who confirmed the grant made to the hospital of Billeswick aforesaid, and died 6th of Edward II, 1312, leaving by his wife, Matilda la Ram, John Fitz Nicholas, ob. 49th of Edward III, who had issue Reginald, who died in the lifetime of his father, leaving a son Thomas, afterwards styled sir Thomas Fitz Nicholl, knt., the last male heir of that branch of the Berkeleys. His two daughters and co-heirs marrying Browning and Poyntz. The arms quartered by Browning as those of Fitz Nicholl, which became the surname of the lords of Tickenham, are: quarterly, *gules* and *or*, over all a bend *argent*."

¹ "Sciunt tam presentes &c. quod ego Ala filia Widmi filii Tecii donacoem quem Domus vir meus Nichus filius Robti fecit ecclia seti Augustini, &c."—Carta August., fol. B. 8.

² Atkyns; Rudder; see also "Quo Warranto", 15 Ed. I.

The party then returned to Clevedon, took again to the rail, and proceeded to Bridgwater, where, having dined at the Clarence Hotel, they held a closing meeting, at the Town Hall, for the Bridgwater portion of the congress. The following paper was then read, which gave rise to a short discussion.

“ON SCRIBES AND NOTARIES.

BY JOHN BRENT, JUN., ESQ., F.S.A.

“The importance of the office of notary, which combined a legal character with the duties of scribe, copyist, or writer, decreased with the more general diffusion of education and learning. In effect, as almost in name, except in some of our universities, it is no longer exercised in this country but in its mere commercial functions. In ancient times, however, the notary held an important position in the state, and he is mentioned at an early period in sacred history. Among the Hebrews the title of scribe was not confined to the duties of writer, or transcriber, but applied to those who ranked with councillors, ministers of state, commissaries of armies, and men renowned for their learning.

“The first mention by name of functionaries of this description occurs in the book of Judges; but as scribes existed among the Egyptians long prior to this period, there is every reason to suppose that the Jews must have been accustomed to witness the performance of their services during their sojourn and detention in the land of the Pharaohs, and adopted the office, among other Egyptian institutions, when they were restored to comparative independence.

“Many are the allusions to this ancient office. Isaiah, referring to the customary writing materials of the day, prophecies, among other events, “That the paper reeds by the brook shall wither.” It is to Egypt, indeed, whence may be traced so many of the institutions of the world, that we turn for the earliest records of the scribe or notary. In some of the tombs at Thebes, where, according to Rosellini, Wilkinson, and others, the various stages of embalment are delineated, the Egyptian scribe performs an important part in the necessary preparations. His dress distinguishes him from other functionaries: in one hand he holds a roll of papyrus,—this probably represents the “book of the dead,” about to be deposited either in its case or among the last folds of the bandages with which the deceased is to be swathed. The office was considered sacred, and the scribe who exercised it was called the “Hierogrammat.”¹ He was supposed to be acquainted with the knowledge of everything relating to the sacrifices, and to the utensils, and furniture of the Temple. He was required to be versed in local geography; to be, in fact, a sort of living almanack and chronologist; to be

¹ Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, iii, 348, and v, 278.

acquainted with the course and history of the periodic condition of the Nile, and the motions of the heavenly bodies. The "book of the dead," obtained from ancient papyri, was supposed to be a kind of passport for the soul, or the credentials for its passage through the various gates of the heavenly dwelling. It contained also the prayers and hymns enjoined to be addressed to the gods, and the progress of the deceased in the world of spirits. The Hierogrammats were probably the wise men and magicians, who constituted certain grades of the priestly orders, and in whose ranks were found those interpreters of dreams to whom we have allusion in the history of Joseph.

"In Egypt, the duties of the scribes were in constant requisition; for scarcely a ceremony of any importance could be conducted without their assistance. The walls of temples and the public monuments are found covered with inscriptions. The presence of the scribes was necessary during the copying or incision of these writings; and with the papyrus roll in their hands, they stood by to superintend the workmen, to dictate the words and sentences, and to test, perhaps, the accuracy of the performance. There is the greatest probability that the scribes and notaries of Egypt were of the order of priests, as nearly all the written records relate to the religion of the country, or to science and genealogies. The same principle undoubtedly held good with every ancient people. The ministers of religion were the chief repositories of the learning and science of the age, and there was little or no information beyond what they promulgated. In Greece and in Rome, in their classical supremacy, and only then in a few localities, orators, poets, and philosophers, rivalled, and, in some instances, exceeded the sacerdotal orders in their knowledge of general subjects; but in Egypt, where the awful revelations of buried greatness indicate the fearful observances of a religion which exercised a dominion unexampled over the fears and the superstitions, if not the affections of the people, few or no books, so to be called, are found. The same thing applies to ancient Rome; and the researches at Pompeii and Herculaneum have disinterred scarcely any literary remains of value.¹ A reading public had not yet arisen; the printing-press was unknown; and it is probable that the great mass of the human race, even the most refined in the most favoured localities, knew less of Homer, Virgil, Pliny, or Horace, than many of our intelligent mechanics and artisans do in the present day. In the Egyptian temples, the scribe is frequently exhibited as taking down the quantities of grain or cattle, or in recording other commercial and domestic transactions. The incised slabs and monuments of Nineveh and Khorsábád exhibit a literature confined to the histories of the kings, their marches, victories, and public decrees; nothing, however, has been found in any

¹ Of the papyri rolls discovered at Herculaneum and deciphered, the greater portion are stated to be treatises upon the Epicurean philosophy.

degree bearing upon poetry, science, or general literature, unless in connexion with astronomy or religious observances. In the most ancient sculptures of Nimroud no scribes are delineated; but in the more recent ones, and in those of Khorsábád and Koyúnjuk, Mr. Layard remarked them portrayed as if writing down, upon some flexible material, the number of heads of the slain and the amount of spoil, after a battle. The pen they used was probably the reed which grows in the marshes of the Tigris and Euphrates; and the writing materials were, most likely, of leather, their representation on the basso-relievos being in too flexible a form for the papyrus. Leather was used by the Egyptians as early as the nineteenth dynasty, and was an article of commerce between that country and Assyria. The writing of the scribes was probably the cursive or hieratic hand, similar to that inscribed on fragments of pottery, and on vases found at Nimroud. This writing, in which documents of private interest or public transactions of little moment were recorded, was read from left to right, contrary to the cuneiform, or arrow-headed character, which proceeded from right to left, and was made use of on monuments for state and religious purposes. The cursive writing of Assyria was probably a dialect of the Semitic, or Syro-Arabian language. The Scholiast on Euripides informs us, that the Greek augurs performed the duties of scribes, carrying with them writing tables, on which they recorded the names and flight of birds, and other circumstances, then deemed worthy of note.

"It were needless to multiply examples: wherever the community had made some advance in civilization, however trifling, the scribe was to be found recording on leaves, or staves, or stone, or metal, or on dried and prepared skins, the most notable deeds of the great men of the day, the few simple laws of the community, or the deaths of kings and warriors. The priests or bards among the Celts, the scalds of the Scandinavians, the magi of the Persians, were the scribes and notaries of their people, —often their ~~prophets~~ as well as their poets. The earliest writings were probably on wood or stone. The Chinese, previous to the invention of paper, wrote on thin boards or bamboos. Pliny tells us, tables of wood were in use before the time of Homer; and further states, that the works of Hesiod were written on lead. At a later period, both Greeks and Romans wrote with a style upon waxed tablets. This practice continued long after the discovery of the use of papyrus, or the employment of leaves and skins as writing materials. The tablets were often coloured, the substance of which was called minium, whence is derived the word "miniature," a small coloured drawing; likewise the word "rubric" from rubrum, the red colouring matter applied to the tables, and which was used for titles and superscriptions. The Roman authors were accustomed to have their works transcribed into parchment books for their own use, and then gave the tablets, on which they were originally com-

posed, to the librarii, or scribes, to copy and to publish. The waxed tablets were written on by the style,—an instrument sharp and pointed at one end, and flat at the other for smoothing the wax, and consequently useful in erasing and correcting. Thus when Horace, in his advice to authors, says, "*Stilum vertere*," he evidently alludes to the advantage of knowing when to correct or to obliterate. The reed, arundo, or calamus, was used also by the Romans; Cicero and Pliny making allusions to its employment, and the ink with which their writing was rendered legible.

"Instead of a pen or style, the Chinese use a pencil of hair, dipped into ink, or liquified pigment or paint. Quills were in use, however, at an early period in Europe. The Cingalese cut the leaves of the talipot into strips, and write upon them with an instrument very similar to the style. The Hindoos and Burmese employ for a similar purpose the cocoa nut, or leaves of the palm, which they indent with a sharp instrument.

"The Chinese, likewise, use palm leaves and silk paper. The Moors prepare a thin and shining paper, the sheets of which they tack together; their pen being the ancient calamus or reed, which is about as thick as a goose's quill. Upon important occasions, such as an address to a king or governor, the paper is gilded; and when sent, inclosed within a bamboo, and sealed up. They had seals of gold, silver, and other metals, upon which names were engraved. Metal appears to have been used as a material for writing at a very early period. The laws of Crete were incised upon bronze. The Romans frequently indented their public records upon copper, and upon a plate of this metal a speech of Claudius was preserved in the city of Lyons. Lead was also used from the remotest ages. Job says, "O, that my words were engraven with an iron pen and lead upon the rocks." Sometimes the interior of caves was used, as in the picture writing which has been detected in the famous Ajunta caves, in America. The runes of Scandinavia, and of the Anglo-Saxons in this country, were written on rocks and slabs of stone, as well as on staves. Bricks, tiles and pottery have been found engraved among other relics from Nineveh and Babylon. The bark of trees, however, appears to have suggested among many nations the most ready means for written inscriptions. The peel, between the bark and wood, was oftener used than the wood itself—hence the word "*liber*:" while in Anglo-Saxon, we have "*bok*" or book, from *boc*, beech tree, the bark of which was employed. Ivory and horn were also used, whence probably the derivation "*horn book*." The papyrus was employed at an early period.

"The practice of writing upon parchment, and the facility of erasure or partial obliteration afforded by the use of pumice stone or a sponge, led to the destruction, in the middle ages, of many valuable documents; the ignorant and parsimonious scribes thus effacing many a classic, or valuable treatise, the loss of which the literary world has never ceased to

lament, for the purpose of using the parchment for the transcription of church exercises and legends. From these palimpsests, as they are denominated, some precious works have been partially restored.

"The most ancient document preserved on cotton paper, is said to be a bull of pope Victor II, 1057. The manufacture of paper from linen, however, was known to the Arabians previous to its introduction into Europe. The charters of Valencia, dated A.D. 1251, were said to be inscribed on this material; as likewise an edict of Frederick II of Germany, and a letter from Joinville to St. Louis, A.D. 1270. The modes of writing were almost as various as the materials employed. The Greeks had several methods. The *βουτροφῆδον*, or oxploughing inscriptions, were read from right to left, then, dropping at the end of the line underneath, were read back, left to right uninterruptedly. Written sentences were arranged sometimes in a circular form. In some old inscriptions the Greeks wrote from left to right. Many of the Eastern nations, the Arabians and the Hebrews, for examples, wrote from right to left. The Chinese and the Japanese wrote vertically. The Scandinavian runes are sometimes to be read from the bottom line upwards; sometimes from right to left, and sometimes in a serpentine direction. In the East where ancient customs remain the longest, (many of the Arabs adhering, even in the present day, to the costume and habits of the earliest times) the profession of a scribe is not only retained in full prerogative, but his outward appearance recalls the days of a remote antiquity. Thus, when Ezekiel alludes to "One clothed in linen, with a writer's inkhorn by his side," we behold in the secretaries of the Turkish governors, and agas with their sad-coloured jubbees, crimson turbans, and long brass ink-horns, the direct official descendants of the ancient scribes. "The long brass inkhorn," says Mr. Emerson, "is common throughout the Levant, and is met with in the houses of the Greeks. To one end of a brass tube is attached the little case containing the moistened sepia, which is closed with a lid and a snap, and the whole stuck with much importance into the girdle."

"The office of scribe and notary in an unlettered age must have been of the highest importance, especially when we consider how much in the drawing up of public documents, in private agreements, or in the making of wills, must frequently have been confided to the discretion and honesty of the writer: in fact, we can hardly conceive an office of more trust, or one which, in the hands of an unprincipled functionary, might be more abused; hence the appointment to the office was frequently placed under the patronage of the highest personages in the state. The notary, from "notarius," has been described by Hooker, as "an officer whose business was to take notes of anything which may concern the public, and to publicly attest deeds and writings, and to draw contracts of every description." Ragueau distinguishes between

notarii and tabelliones. "The notaries," he says, "in usual cities (continental ones) are only to receive and pass the minutes of contracts, and to deliver them to the parties in *brief*; being obliged to carry them to the tabelliones to be kept, and to have them engrossed." He adds, "the notaries were formerly clerks to the tabelliones, and that, separating by degrees from their masters, they at length erected offices of their own, and at last took the places of the tabelliones, who were suppressed." This is confirmed by the forty-fourth novel of Justinian, in which it appears that contracts were first written in *notes* or abbreviations by the notaries, and were not obligatory until they were engrossed or written *at large* by the tabelliones, and then signed and sealed. To the practices of the notaries as above, we may doubtless trace the name derived from "note," whence came "short hand," as it is called.

"Notaries in this country are now, with a few exceptions, only employed in commercial transactions, particularly in cases when protested bills are *noted* by them, as legal evidence of their having been dishonoured. In France, and in some other European countries, they still retain something of their ancient official functions. There was anciently a class of this profession, distinguished as "notaries ecclesiastical," who, in the early ages of the church, collected and preserved the acts of the martyrs. They are said to have been constituted by St. Clement, and their number was seven, and they were distributed or quartered in the seven regions of Rome. The counts palatine of the empire long exercised on the continent the right of appointing public notaries. The grade which a count palatine held among nobles and princes was a subject of much dispute. Selden, quoting the learned Pierre Pithou, tells us "that it was a dignity never received or acknowledged in France, although the pope and the emperor created them in their own territory; and in the parliament of Tholouse, A.D. 1462, John de Navarre, a count palatine, made by the pope, was censured for granting legitimations and making notaries in France, and his acts declared void." These counts palatine, however, claimed, even in this country, at one time, certain privileges independent of the royal authority; and notaries, according to Selden, thus constituted by foreign counts palatine, were acknowledged until the reign of Edward the Second. There is to be found, among the records in the cathedral archives at Canterbury, a petition of the prior of that city to the pope, for the power to create notaries, upon the ground "that parties frequently come to the Apostolic See for the purpose of hearing and discussing causes and other matters, and that there was an insufficiency of notaries in the diocese for the public service." The prior shortly afterwards received from a count palatine of the empire, Bassianus de Alliate de Mediolano, the usual privilege of making and constituting three notaries. Edward II, alarmed at this invasion of his regal authority (for the officers so appointed were required to swear on

the Gospels, never to oppose the Church of Rome, the empire nor the patron count) deeming, also, the practice to be derogatory to his government, issued a brief forbidding such appointments, and peremptorily commanded all officers so constituted to cease to exercise their functions, declaring all deeds, writings, pleas whatsoever by them so drawn, or acts by them performed, to be null and void. The king's proclamation, preserved at Canterbury, relates "that a grave report and outcry having come to his ears, that although his realm of England hath ever been free from all imperial subjection, and from the very beginning of the world hath been a stranger to it, nevertheless he hears that a number of notaries have been created by imperial authority." Pains and penalties are threatened, and all archbishops, bishops, prelates, and other ministers, solemnly warned to place no confidence in any of the acts of the above officers. In reference to the above, we give the description of creating a notary, conceded to Henry, prior of Canterbury, in this reign, by the count palatine: the candidate having been selected, fell on his knees, and swore on the Gospels, publicly, honestly, and zealously to exercise his office in drawing up all instruments and contracts, and in taking the last instructions of the dying, and in the opening and proving of wills, and the appointment of administrators and guardians, and in making all public records and attestations of witnesses, and in everything which might pertain to his office; swearing to do nothing contrary to the Roman Church, the empire, nor the count palatine. All this he engages to perform correctly and faithfully—without guile or simulation; declaring, moreover, that he will authenticate all public writings upon parchment or vellum, and never inscribe them upon torn or damaged paper, nor upon paper made of silk; writing and attesting the same with his own hand, authenticating it with his name and sign. To these documents seals were attached—hence the legal technicalities "of signing and sealing."

"At a very early age seals had been invented for the purpose of authenticating written documents. The notary having made the prescribed oath and declaration, was then formally invested by the prior, by the delivery to him of pen, inkhorn, and paper. The use of seals was extremely ancient. It prevailed among the Jews and Persians, and in the Book of Jeremiah an instance is recorded, describing with great precision the purchase and conveyance of a field, the formalities of signing and sealing, and the delivery and attestation of witnesses. We have the authority of Mr. Albert Way, for stating that notaries had seals. "They were ordered to have seals according to a decree of the council of Cologne, A.D. 1310. 'Notaries royal,' in France, were accustomed to the use of seals from the commencement of the fourteenth century." In allusion to notarial seals, and some of their devices (which were very singular) the same writer states that the decree of the order of notaries of Faenza, was an ink pot with a pen in it. They also used marks or

devices, instead of seals; which Mr. Way thinks originated in the use of a stamp which the notary was accustomed to dip into the ink and impress upon parchment, instead of affixing an impression of wax. The French call this device a "paraphe." It is generally of an intricate and inimitable form. It is used also by the Spanish notaries, and even practised on the continent by persons of every class, not excepting the ladies, who seldom sign their names without attempting a flourish.

"Blackstone is of opinion that seals were not used in a legal sense in this country until the reign of Edward the Confessor, who affixed his seal to a charter of grants to Westminster abbey. Doubts, however, have been thrown upon the authority of this charter; nothing, unfortunately, having been more common than the manufacture of deeds of gift by ecclesiastics and others, especially when a practice prevailed of requiring the production of such documents by the monarch upon his accession, or by a "quo warranto" under the Norman kings, to prove the titles of religious houses and corporations to the possession of certain holdings. The method of attestation usually adopted by the Anglo-Saxons, whether able to write or not, was to add the sign of the cross—a custom kept up to this day among the illiterate. Wihtried, king of Kent, A.D. 694, affixed his cross, confessing, at the time, as recorded by the scribe, his inability to write. Cadwalla, also, made the same excuse, thus—"Propria manu per ignorantium litterarum, signum sanctæ crucis et expressi et subscripsi." The Normans introduced the practice of sealing, although they did not universally adopt it.

"The impressions upon the seals of the nobles were sometimes a knight on horseback, and sometimes other devices; but coats of arms were not introduced upon seals until the reign of Richard I, who is said to have brought them from the Crusades. King Edward the Third, during his reign, made use of no less than seven different seals.

"The charters and deeds of gift were usually written by scribes and professed copyists, and the Anglo-Saxons specially prided themselves upon their calligraphy. The illumination of charters was an art not practised until a later age; and one proof of the spuriousness of an Anglo-Saxon charter is the appearance of an illumination or painting. In the mediæval period, this art was carried to great perfection. The charter of privileges of James the First to the city of Canterbury, is adorned in the margins with beautifully executed drawings of birds, flowers, and animals, apparently faithfully executed, and curious and interesting as exhibiting the comparative state of horticulture, and the breeds of animals, wild and domestic, existing in those days. Irrespectively of the labours of professed scribes, the most eminent men, especially among the ecclesiastics, did not think it derogatory to their station to draw up charters and ingross manuscripts. At Winchester is a charter said to be drawn up by St. Dunstan; at Canterbury is a document also ascribed to the same prelate. It is a grant of Eadred, king

of Kent, A.D. 949, of the monastery and town of Reculver, to the church at Canterbury. It is preserved under glass in the cathedral library; but although generally clear and distinct, it has suffered considerably from time. Either the duplicate or the original is shown in the Cottonian library. Many examples are said to exist of Dunstan's handwriting; and among the Bodleian manuscripts at Oxford is exhibited a picture representing the saint worshipping Christ. It is stated on the authority of an ancient note adjoined, together with the accompanying writing, to be the work of the Saxon prelate's own hand. According to the "Ceremoniale" of St. Benedict, the monks of that Order were enjoined "*Scribere libros, aut rubricare, vel ligare pergame nunc et alia necessaria, preparare et his similia.*"

"Numerous were the attestations of witnesses subscribed to ancient deeds. A grant of Eardwolf, A.D. 747, to the abbot Eardbherht and his monks, of certain lands in Kent, is signed by the king, the abbot Cwoenthrit, and sixty-two other persons.

"The most ancient Anglo-Saxon charters are of the seventh century; and it is generally supposed that the earliest charter extant, a copy of which is preserved in the "Textus Roffensis", is of the time of Ethelbert, who was probably the first Anglo-Saxon king who conveyed lands by written instruments; lands and possessions before his reign being simply conveyed by the delivery of a piece of turf, a bow, a lance, or some other symbol of the property. From the seventh century to the Norman Conquest, almost all the charters of the Anglo-Saxon kings exhibit different proems or exordiums. None, however, commencing with the names of the monarch, such as "Ego, Egbertus Rex" are genuine, that style having been first adopted by the Norman kings, who commenced their grants with their names and titles, unless such grants related to ecclesiastical affairs.

"In the earliest charters, the style was remarkably brief. Thus among the manuscripts until lately preserved at Stowe, the grant of Wihtred, king of Kent, A.D. 697, of certain lands to the nuns of Lyminge, consists of three lines only, followed by six containing the names of the king and queen and the attesting witnesses. The whole of the subscriptions appear to be in the same handwriting. This was commonly the case, and no proof of its being unauthentic. It is probable the scribe wrote or copied the whole, signatures included, the number of witnesses being, in some degree, a security against forgery. In the Conqueror's grant to Battle Abbey, the crosses and names of the witnesses are all in the handwriting of the scribe. In allusion to charters, we might note incidentally, that so general was the opinion about the commencement of the eleventh century, that the destruction of the world was an event shortly to be expected; that pious donors, in the preambles of deeds of land which they were about to bequeath, espe-

cially to the church, often commenced, "*Appropinquante mundi termino*," or, "*Appropinquante magno judicii diei*". Elfric, likewise, in an earlier age, from the calamities of Ethelred's reign, appeared to be of the same opinion; for he says, "By this we may understand that this world is passing away, and very nigh its end." (MSS. Vesp. D. 14.)

"In Sicily, according to sir Charles Lyell, this opinion led to a similar practice. The Saxon kings generally prefixed the monogram of the name of Jesus Christ, or the sign of the cross, before the invocation. The sign of the cross was made by the donor or notary in various ways, sometimes in the middle of the word, thus, sig+num; sometimes over
+
the word "*Crucis*"; or thus, "*Cum sanctæ crucis + signo*"; or, "*Sub sigillo sanctæ + crucis*"; other well-known monograms were occasionally employed.

"The scribes of the Anglo-Saxon charters invariably used black ink. Those ornamented with azure, with vermillion, or gold and coloured letters and crosses, purporting to be Saxon, are fabrications of a later age.

"The terms "*Inspeximus*" and "*Vidimus*," by which some charters are exemplified, were first used in this country by the Norman kings. The French notaries generally used the latter term.

"In the manufacture of fictitious charters there were no greater offenders than the monks of St. Augustine at Canterbury, who forged many deeds of gifts and privileges, purporting to have been grants from king Ethelbert. From the preface to the *Rotuli Chartarum* we learn that upon one occasion Giles, bishop of Evreux, wrote to the Pope, informing him of the forgeries of Guerno, a monk of St. Medard, who formerly belonged to St. Augustine's at Canterbury. This man made voluntary confession before the bishop and others at Rheims, that for the gifts of various precious ornaments, he had written deeds purporting to confer privileges on several churches, especially those of St. Omer and St. Augustine at Canterbury. In spite, however, of an exposure like this, reflecting dishonour upon the individual, both as a scribe and as an ecclesiastic, the monks of St. Augustine finally triumphed in their dispute; and through the favour of Rome, and by supposititious privileges conferred by Ethelbert and others, succeeded in shaking off the authority of the Anglican archbishop."

Mr. Black then gave an account of further discoveries among the archives of Bridgwater. He said he had foregone the pleasure of visiting Clevedon in order to make a further search among the muniments of the corporation. He had spent the whole day upon them, and was greatly indebted to the town clerk and to the Rev. Mr. Jones, local secretary of the Somerset Archæological Society, for their valuable assistance. He then read some extracts from a document of the seven-

teenth year of Henry the Eighth's reign, from which a pretty correct notion of the importance of the town in that day could be formed. Among some expenses mentioned therein were,—For one gallon of wine to my Lord Jeff. Just., 8*d.*; to Lord Audley's minstrels, 20 pence; to the King's minstrels, 3*s.* 4*d.*; to Lord Northumberland's minstrels, 12*d.*; a bottle of wine to my Lord Just., 4*d.* In a document of 1629 it was stated, that there had been paid to Mr. Boye, for "fecycyon" to help a poor man, 6*s.* 8*d.*; bearing to church a poor man who died on the castle wall, 4*d.*; the town clerk's fee, 3*s.* 4*d.*—he (Mr. Black) supposed this to be for half a year. Another document, of the 23rd and 24th years of the reign of Henry VI, contains the names of all the householders of the town, and the amount of their assessments, which were from one penny upwards. It appeared that the mayor of the town had a salary of £5 for performing the duties of his office. Mr. Black referred to the privileges granted to the trade of the town, in order to restore it, by the charter of Henry IV. He next read an inventory belonging to certain charities, and which consisted of movables and rents. (It appeared that the church maintained a principle which bears much analogy to the system adopted by the Craig and Mullerites of Bristol, receiving articles of clothing, etc., for the support of the church). In one instance a lady had given an anvil towards the church of Bridgewater; another a "toker's shears." These were let out to hire, and the profits devoted to the church. When people had no money they gave furniture, or any other things that might be turned into cash. A creditor and debtor account of the time of the Commonwealth was next read. Among the items in the expenditure were 18*s.* for a dinner at Taunton; 10*s.* for going to Taunton assizes; for tobacco and a pipe, in May, 1650, 2*s.* 7*d.*; money delivered to messenger by the mayor's order, 5*s.*; money paid to Humphrey Blake about the coal trade, £2. The next documents read were of Edward III's reign: under one of these was an item for horse-hire, etc., in conveying lead from Wells; also 8*s.* to one man and a horse, for carrying clay to make the sollar of the belfry; and 4*d.* to one man to make a cob wall; 1*d.* for meridian drink (lunch beer); 1*d.* for straw to mix with clay; and 2*d.* for a pendicle (a kind of rope for the bell). Mr. Black also produced a document belonging to the water-bailiff of the port. He said it was one of the first instances of paper introduced or made in England. It was of the fourteenth century, about the year 1398, in Richard II's reign, and was of a coarse texture, and as strong and as likely to last as long as parchment. He next produced a warrant of James II, with that monarch's autograph, and signed by Lord Sunderland. This document, which was dated Dec. 6, 1687, was addressed to the mayor, and authorized the dismissal of certain members of the town-council, and also the town-clerk, for being obnoxious to the Government. Among the

council was one Roger Hoare, who Mr. Parker said was, no doubt, the person that was tried and acquitted under the gallows for taking part in Monmouth's rebellion.

Resolutions were now passed, expressing thanks to the mayor and corporation of Bridgwater for their obliging attention, and for the facilities they had afforded the Association in their inquiries. Much stress was laid upon the advantages that might arise to the illustration of the history of Bridgwater in particular, and to the county of Somerset in general, by having the muniments, at present preserved in a very small and inconvenient place in the gaol, classed, arranged, and indexed; and the mayor and several members of the corporation spoke strongly as to the necessity of the measure, and their confidence in their townsmen to have it attended to. Thanks were also voted to the town-clerk for his attention during the congress; to the local secretaries and local committee for the assistance they had afforded, and to the directors of the Gas Company and the directors of the Bristol and Exeter Railways for their most obliging and useful aid. The mayor, W. D. Bath, esq., Mr. Stradling, Mr. John Browne, Mr. Charles Knowles, and others, acknowledged the compliments severally paid to them. Nor was the great courtesy of the "Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society" forgotten, and which was responded to by the honorary secretary, the Rev. W. A. Jones. Thanks were also given by acclamation to colonel Tynte for his liberal present of a buck for the gratification of the Association at Bridgwater; and to others, for their generous and hospitable entertainments.

[The remainder of the proceedings of the Congress, held at Bath, including papers by J. H. Markland, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.; rev. H. M. Scarth, M.A.; W. Tite, M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.; C. E. Davis, F.S.A.; will appear in the next *Journal*.]

Archæological Notices and Antiquarian Intelligence.

GREAT YARMOUTH. Manship's *History of Great Yarmouth* is well known and deservedly esteemed. It was edited by Mr. Palmer, who has been subsequently put into possession of the materials necessary to the completion of that work, and these are now published as a continuation of that history.¹ To remedy any inconvenience that may arise from a separation of the subject matter, a general index, and an index of names have been judiciously added, and from their copious nature answer the purpose effectually. A brief enumeration of the contents of this work will be sufficient to show the interest which attaches to it. Thus, in the first place, we have the charters granted to the borough, commencing with that of king John, a photograph of which forms a most appropriate frontispiece to the volume. It dates the ninth year of his reign A.D. 1209, and its size measures only eight and a-half by ten inches, written in the particularly small, neat, and distinct character of that time. By this instrument Yarmouth, formerly denominated *Jernemuthe*, was constituted "a burghē withe diverse and sondrye liberties and priviledges to hold of the said kinge in fee farm for ever; yielding for the same, to the said kinge and to his heires and successors, into the Exchequer fyfthe and five pounds of monye yearly," etc. The witnesses to the deed are the bishops of Winchester and Salisbury, the earls of Essex, Pembroke, Salisbury, De Ferrers, and nine others. It was executed at "Marleburgh." To this charter the editor has appended an explanation of the peculiar terms employed in it—such as fee-farm, soc and sac, toll, theam, lastage, passage, paage, stallage, leve, Danegeld, etc. Disputes arising between Yarmouth and Gorleston, Henry III granted three charters in 1256 and 1261. In 1272, in the same reign, letters patent were granted confirming certain provisions for the better government of the town, which for the first time is called Great Yarmouth. "La vile de graunt Gernemute."

¹ The History of Great Yarmouth, designed as a Continuation of Manship's history of that town, by Charles John Palmer, F.S.A. Great Yarmouth, 1856. 4to.

Edward I granted four charters and two dites, 1277-1306; Edward II, a charter in 1314; Edward III, three charters, 1327, 1333, and 1372—the grant in the latter being revoked in 1376, and re-granted by Richard II, in 1379; revoked again in 1382, and another granted in 1384. Charters were subsequently granted in 1385 and in 1386, in the same reign. Henry IV, in 1399, granted a charter upon coming to the throne, and letters patent were issued by Henry V, in 1414; and also by Henry VI, confirming the preceding charters. Henry VII granted a charter by which the borough obtained a capital jurisdiction which it had not before enjoyed, and a power then possessed by very few cities or boroughs. It was abolished by the Municipal Corporation Act in 1835. Henry VIII and queen Mary confirmed the charter, and queen Elizabeth granted, in 1559, a charter by writ of privy seal and by authority of parliament, conferring special privileges, by which the borough was exempted from the jurisdiction of the admiral and admiralty of England, empowering the burgesses to hold a court of admiralty for the determination of their own affairs. James I granted a charter in 1608, constituting it a free borough. Charles II, three charters, confirming the borough a free borough, in 1664, 1668, and 1684. The latter charter had been abrogated, and queen Anne, in the second year of her reign, confirmed the two former ones, and ordained that Great Yarmouth and Southtown should form one body corporate and politic. This is dated 1703, and is the last charter of the borough.

The second section of Mr. Palmer's work is devoted to the ancient customs and usages of the borough, which was subject to the jurisdiction of twenty-four jurats, whose powers were considerable. A code of laws and customs was drawn up (composed in French), and in 1491 translated into English by Thomas Banyard, steward of the court.

The third section relates to the fisheries, trade and commerce. The former of these was of great extent as early as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when other trades were in their infancy, and gave, therefore, to the borough considerable importance. The prosperity (Mr. Palmer observes) was, doubtless, occasioned by the freedom which all enjoyed, whether denizen or foreigner, of bringing on shore the fish which they had caught, and selling the produce of their labour to the best advantage, without let or hindrance. The tendency of all the early legislation on the subject was to secure a free and cheap market, to discountenance brokers or middle-men, and to prevent forestalling, regrating, and engrossing (p. 81). The *Statute of Herrings*, passed in 1357, recited that complaints had been made "because the people of Yarmouth did encounter fishers bringing herring to the said town in the time of the fair, and did buy and forestall the herring before they came to the town," and that the "hostlers of the same town, who lodge the fishers coming thither," would not suffer the fishers to sell their herrings, nor meddle

with the sale thereof; but sold them "at their own will," as dear as they could, and gave the fishermen "what they pleased"; for which reason the fishermen had withdrawn themselves from coming to the town, and herrings were sold at a much greater price than ever they had been, "to the great damage of our lord the king, of the lords, and of all the people." The statute enacts that no herrings should be sold at sea. Many ordinances appear to have been requisite from time to time to ensure advantages to the common people for the purchase of the fish. These were, however, greatly interfered with by the importance of its fisheries to the maritime strength of England. The town derived a great revenue from the sale of herrings, known as "heyning money", which (Mr. Palmer says) "seems to have been the difference in the price between the sum fixed by the host, and that which was realized on a sale at the herring chambers, where, in strictness, all herrings were to be sold; but if not sold there, the parties brought a bill, and paid whatever could be claimed for heyning money." (p. 85). A fatal blow to the freedom which characterized the Yarmouth fisheries, was struck, Mr. Palmer tells us, by Charles I, when he issued an order in council prohibiting the Dutch to fish off Yarmouth as they had been accustomed to do, time immemorial, without obtaining previously a royal licence. The states, on receiving this intelligence, despatched an envoy to remonstrate; but the king refused to give them any satisfaction, and one or two of their herring boats being soon afterwards captured, the Dutch sent a squadron to protect the rest. Our readers will find much information and amusement in this section, in regard to the disputes arising from attempted monopolies in regard to the sale of fish, herrings, mackerel, etc., the number of boats engaged, the quantities procured, and the amount receivable upon the same. In 1855 the sum of £27,994 was realized by eighty-five boats. By the railway communication the trade has been so far extended that, in the year 1854, no less than 533,425 packages of fish, weighing 20,003 tons five cwt., were conveyed by that means from Yarmouth to various parts of the country.

Yarmouth was made a staple town in 1369. Mr. Palmer gives a plate of twenty-eight merchants' marks belonging to it. Tokens served as small change and for individual convenience, and were struck in Yarmouth. These, and other money have occasionally been found, and some specimens have been exhibited to the Association. Mr. Palmer says that silver coins of queen Elizabeth's time are occasionally dredged up from the river, and also found in various parts of the town. In 1782 a large number of tradesmen's tokens, of the reigns of Charles I and James I, which appeared to have been buried many years, were found between the town and the North Stone battery. Gold coins of James I, in good preservation, are sometimes found cast on the beach at Hemsby, probably from some vessel wrecked near that part of the coast (p. 96, *note*).

These were prohibited to be circulated in 1672, under severe penalties. Mr. Palmer has given a list of the tokens struck in Yarmouth in the seventeenth century, and a representation of some of the most important and curious.

Section four is devoted to a history and description of the church of St. Nicholas. St. Felix, first bishop in East Anglia, is conjectured, by Blomefield, to have built the first church at Yarmouth. He died in A.D. 647. St. Nicholas was, however, founded by bishop Herbat, at the end of the eleventh, or commencement of the twelfth century, the date of charter annexing it to the monastery of the Holy Trinity at Norwich, being 1101. This celebrated man, better known as *De Losinga*, obtained the sanction of the pope for the removal of his see from Thetford to Norwich, where he commenced the building of a cathedral and a monastery, which latter he endowed "with greate landes and possessions, bookes, and all other necessities." He introduced sixty Benedictine monks, and observed their discipline. He became lord high chancellor in 1104, and having, at the desire of Henry I, made a journey to Rome to arrange some disputes in regard to investitures and the legatine authority in England, fell sick upon his journey home, and died at Norwich in 1119. He was buried before the high altar of the cathedral church. The only parts of the original building of St. Nicholas now remaining are a portion of the tower. All traces of Norman work, according to Mr. Palmer, are obliterated, except some windows in the upper part of the tower, which have been recently discovered and re-opened, and a Norman arcade. Additions to the church were made in the reigns of John, Henry III, and Edward I, particularly in 1286, when bishop Middleton consecrated the church and churchyard to the honour of St. Nicholas (the patron saint of mariners) in accordance with the lines of Peter Langtoft :—

"The bishop St. Nicholas, whos
Help is ay redie,
To shipmen in alle cas, when thei
On him crie."

Mural paintings were upon the walls of St. Nicholas, and there was recently discovered a portion representing several knights clad in armour, apparently about to enter a church, either to ask a blessing on their intended enterprize or to return thanks for an obtained victory. But the most remarkable feature in this church (which has received the attention of York herald, J. W. King, esq., and is engraven by the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, by the munificence of Hudson Gurney, esq.) consists of a series of armorial shields, which, by the pen of Mr. King, has obtained a most excellent description given in Mr. Palmer's volume, together with the engravings of the shields. (See pp. 120-123.) There were twenty-two ancient shields remaining on the ceiling of the south aisle, when the church was restored in 1848. Many other particulars

relating to this edifice, its various accidents and restorations, are given by Mr. Palmer, but for these we must necessarily refer our readers to the work itself. The church possesses an ancient font in Purbeck marble. No brasses now remain, and but few ancient tombs. There is a peal of ten bells; they cannot be rung without the permission of the minister, nor can he order them to be rung if the two churchwardens object. Mr. Palmer quotes some quaint lines from a bell in Durham cathedral worth recording:—

“To call the folk to church in time
 I chime.
 When mirth and pleasure's on the wing
 I ring;
 And when the body leaves the soul
 I toll.”

Mr. Palmer has devoted a section to the ecclesiastical history of Great Yarmouth of considerable interest, and one also of importance in relation to the political history of the borough. The local history records a variety of curious notices. Among the memorabilia we meet with the following: that in the fifteenth century (1428) about sixty persons quitted Yarmouth as a body of pilgrims, to visit the shrine of St. James of Compostella, and ships were licensed for their conveyance.

We cannot close this brief notice of Mr. Palmer's labours without thanking him for the pleasure and information we have derived from the perusal of his work, which may be regarded as a pattern for all publications of the same kind—uniting the ancient and modern history of the town, with illustrations, from which all may learn something to their advantage. The book is appropriately, but not superfluously, illustrated.

ROUMAN ANTHOLOGY. The poetry of one of the old races of Europe—the Roumans or Wallachs, has recently been brought to our notice, by a most elegant publication by the hon. Henry Stanley, from the press of Mr. Stephen Austin, of Hertford,¹ in a style of great beauty and magnificence. As a specimen of illuminated printing in gold and colours, arranged in forms consonant to the subject, the volume will be prized as an ornament even for the drawing-room table. Each page is printed within a coloured border of various device, some being of Byzantine ornament, and the whole most sumptuously rendered. The binding and tooling are in agreement and good taste, and the type is deserving of every commendation. It is, however, to the subject matter that our attention must be directed, and it is one which will interest all who take pleasure in poetical literature connected with historical subjects. The

¹ Rouman Anthology; or Selections of Rouman Poetry, Ancient and Modern; being a Collection of the National Ballads of Moldavia and Wallachia, etc. By the Hon. Henry Stanley. Hertford: Stephen Austin. 8vo., 1856.

pieces collected into this volume are the national ballads of Moldavia and Wallachia, printed in their own language, though in roman type, and in some instances accompanied with an English translation. As we have not space sufficient to admit of examples, we must refer our readers to the work itself, and draw their attention to some particulars in relation to the Danubian Principalities, of whose character, language, and nationality, our information is far from being complete. The late war has directed attention to the subject, and we may, therefore, reasonably infer that henceforth we shall acquire more knowledge in regard to the history of their inhabitants than we at present possess.

The two Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia are situated between the Carpathian mountains, and the Danube and Pruth, and in ancient times formed the country known as *Dacia Transalpina*. The people, both of Moldavia and Wallachia, are the descendants of the Romans, Dacians, Mœsians, and Bulgarians. They chiefly belong to the Greek Church. The population of Moldavia has been reckoned at 500,000 souls, and were a Wallachian colony from Transylvania, settling there in the twelfth century. Mr. Wilkinson, the English consul, estimated the population of Wallachia at one million, but a census taken in 1853 returned it at 2,324,484. Of these nearly 50,000 are Cigani, Zingani or gipsies—a portion belonging to the Government, but emancipated¹ and paying taxes, the others slaves of private individuals. They are an indolent and superstitious people; and it is, or very recently was, customary in this country, to open the graves of the dead every seven years, to ascertain whether the body had returned to its kindred dust, and should this not be found to have taken place, the natives then judged the soul that once animated it to be in a state of condemnation, or that the deceased had become a vampire. Many have esteemed the Roumans to have been a branch of the Sclavonians, and that their language was a Sclavonian dialect. This, however, cannot be entertained, as there exists sufficient historical evidence to show that they are the descendants of the legionaries of Trajan and Aurelian, and an examination of the language will serve to confirm this opinion. Mr. Stanley remarks (p. x.) that there are many Sclavonian words in use among the Roumans, introduced, some from the neighbouring Sclavonian tribes, some from the Russians,—but this proportion is daily being reduced. Such words especially are becoming eliminated as have taken no root among the peasantry, for many of the Sclavonic words are current only in towns; and the country people (more tenacious of old

¹ "Before 1848, the gipsies were sold as slaves. Their slavery was abolished at that time by the popular movement; but on the entry of the Russians it was reimposed by their influence. The gipsies on the monastery lands of Moldavia had already been enfranchised in 1844, on which occasion Aleksandri wrote the poem *Disrobirea Tiganilor*. Prince Gregory Ghika, the hospodar of Moldavia, has lately, by the edict dated 28 Nov. (10th Dec.), 1855, emancipated the gipsies throughout the principality." (Stanley, p. viii.)

forms) continue to use the Latin word. He also observes, that "the leading peculiarity of the Rouman language, distinguishing it from the Latin languages, is that the article is placed at the end of the word. The same thing takes place in Bulgarian alone among the Slavonic languages, but the Albanian also has this characteristic. The Bulgarians are generally believed to be Slavonized Tartars or Turks, and it is worthy of consideration how far this post-position of the article (common to the Turkish languages) may not be attributable to the influence of the primitive Turks, as ethnologically understood, which extended over all these countries long before Ottoman times." (p. xi.)

Nothing is certainly known of Wallachia prior to Trajan, and the traveller from the west is surprised and pleased to hear a language which has deviated little from the parent Latin. The ballads are distinguished by their plaintive and melancholy character, carrying allusions to ancient mythology. An interesting one, entitled *Master Manole*, by Boliacu, is illustrative of the superstition held in regard to the stability of a building by the immuring of a living being within its walls. We strongly recommend this volume to our readers.

EXCAVATIONS AT CAERWENT. Such of our members as were present at the Chepstow Congress, held in 1854, will recollect the excursion then made to Caerwent, the well-known and most interesting site of a Roman station of considerable importance. In the introductory discourse, delivered by Mr. Pettigrew, at the Congress, printed in the *Journal* (vol. x, pp. 197-225), he endeavoured to establish its identity with the VENTA SILURUM, and made an enumeration of the principal antiquities which had been discovered in that locality, satisfactorily confirming this view of the subject. The variety of antiquities found at this spot was so remarkable, as to cause Mr. Strange (*Archæol.* vol. v, p. 40), in 1775, to remark:—"The certain remains of Roman antiquities at Caerwent made me, however, amply amends for my disappointments at Abergavenny and Usk." At the Congress, we made examination of the massive walls still remaining, which occupy no mean extent. A portion of these have been drawn and engraved in our proceedings. At the Congress the necessity of making a particular examination of the locality was urged, affirming the probability of discovering pavements, baths, and other Roman antiquities, and the members present on the occasion of our visit were so fully impressed with the advantages that would arise to archæological science were excavations to be undertaken, that application to the rev. Freke Lewis, M.A., the proprietor of Caerwent, was resolved upon, and this gentleman immediately granted permission to the Association to commence the examination. (See *Journal* x, p. 313.) A select committee was therefore nominated by the council, to be aided by Mr. Wakeman and other excellent local antiquaries, to carry out the work, and a

subscription entered into to aid the research. Co-operation in this investigation on the part of Mr. Lee, of Caerleon, was earnestly solicited, and everything was proceeding in the most satisfactory manner, when it was found that the labours and zealous intentions of the council had been interrupted by certain letters written by the rev. Thomas Hugo, then one of the secretaries of the Association, addressed without authority to the rev. Mr. Lewis, and to Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P., by which the interest and honour of the Association were seriously affected. These proceedings having received their condemnation by a general meeting of the Association, and the removal of Mr. Hugo from his official position, it is unnecessary to enter into any particulars; it is sufficient to remark, that by his conduct the intended research was not prosecuted by us, the council preferring to release Mr. Lewis from his liberal promise, rather than meet the jealous opposition of certain local antiquaries. Our intentions, however, have been productive of a good result—they have stimulated discovery; and Mr. O. Morgan, one of the members of the Caerleon Archæological Association, engaged Mr. Akerman (the secretary of the Society of Antiquaries) in the summer of 1855, to enter upon the excavations—a report of which has only just appeared in the *Archæologia* (vol. xxxvi, pt. ii, pp. 418-437). The subject of this paper appears fit matter for consideration and record in our *Journal*, as pertaining to the proceedings of the Chepstow Congress. It emanates from Mr. O. Morgan, and may be considered as embodying the results of Mr. Akerman's personal examination. Our excellent associate, who entered with us so warmly into the subject, Mr. Wakeman, of the Graig, Monmouth, has, regardless of all private feelings and annoyances, liberally lent his aid to the historical part of Mr. Morgan's paper, and we all know the value of his researches and the accuracy which distinguishes his communications.

The walls of Caerwent are reported to enclose an area of about forty acres, and in round numbers are stated to be about five hundred yards in length, and four hundred in breadth, the form being that of a parallelogram. The *Via Julia* runs through the width of it, from east to west, dividing it into three equal parts. A brook flows by on the south side, and after taking a course of three miles, empties itself into the Bristol Channel at Caldicot Pill:¹ Leland, in 1545, speaks thus of "Cairguent." "Cairguent in Base Venteland, is *iiii* (miles) from Chepstow, in the way to Cairlion. Yt was sumtyme a fair and a large cyte. The places where the *iiii* gates was yet appeare, and the most part of the wal yet standeth, but al to minischyd and torne. In the lower part of the walle, toward a lytle valey, standeth yet the ruine of a . . . stronge. Within and abowt the waulle now be a *xvi* or *xvii* smaull howses for husbandmen, of a new making, and a paroche chirche of St. Stephyn. In the towne yet appeare pavimentes of the old streates, and yn digging they finde fundacions of

¹ *Archæologia*, xxxvi, p. 423.

greate brykes. *Tessellata, pavimenta, et numismata argentea simul et area.*"¹ Camden, in 1586, says, "the city took up about a mile in circumference; on the south side a considerable part of the wall is yet remaining, and more than the ruins of three bastions."² Some of these have been figured in our *Journal*.³ According to Mr. Morgan's report, the most perfect portion of the walls is on the south side, and near the south-east angle is about twenty-five feet in height. Much of the facing of the wall has been removed for building purposes, thus showing the internal masonry, which is a kind of herring-bone work; the stones are flat, of irregular size, and are set obliquely, and bedded in the mortar. On the south side are still the remains of three bastions, or octagonal turrets, projecting from the wall; one has almost disappeared, and a recent clearance of rubbish has revealed the remains of a fourth (one hundred and seventy-five feet eastward of the other three), thus showing that the south wall was defended by four towers along its face, nearly equidistant from each other.⁴ The examinations made by Mr. Akerman, under the directions of Mr. Morgan, were commenced on the spot examined by us in 1854, in an orchard belonging to a farm-house, occupied by Mr. George Dowle, whose courtesy to us and zeal for our pursuits, on occasion of our visit, will be remembered by our associates. It was in this orchard that a beautiful pavement was discovered in 1777, and now for the first time engraved (from a drawing made in the following year, by the late Mr. Basire) in the *Archæologia*.⁵ At the north-east corner of this, a hypocaust had been broken into, and Mr. Pettigrew passed a very long pole into one of the chambers when we visited the spot. The building found here is described, upon examination, to have had all the appearance of a Roman villa, or dwelling-house within the walls, and must have been of some extent. The walls were from four to six feet in height, and two feet thick. The earth was in considerable quantity, and mixed with numerous large stones, broken concrete, mortar, fragments of stucco, pieces of common pottery, oyster and mussel shells, bones of the ox, pig, and sheep, together with large flat-headed nails, which were subsequently found to have been used in the fixing of the tiling, which was of an elongated hexagonal shape. There were also discovered a bronze armilla, and some other object in the same material. The stucco on the walls of the room was of a reddish or salmon colour, and the floor was formed of a layer of concrete, three inches thick, resting on slabs of sandstone, which formed the roof of the hypocaust beneath, and were supported in the middle on two rows of roughly squared sandstone pillars, resting at the sides on two dwarf walls. In each angle of this chamber was fixed a square, upright flue-tile, communicating with the hypocaust.¹ Here were also obtained a portion of a stone quern, the lip

¹ Itiner., vol. v, p. 5. ² Britannia, ed. Gough, vol. ii, p. 485. ³ Vol. x, p. 210.

⁴ Archæologia, vol. xxxv, p. 424.

⁵ Ib., plate xxxiv, p. 428.

of a glass vessel, fragments of pottery, a bronze stylus, and several roofing tiles. The chamber for fuel resembled a deep pit, not having any doorway; access to it could, therefore, have been only obtained by means of steps or ladders. The same accumulation of earth, bones, etc., was met with in other buildings, and does not need particular specification. Coins of Magnentius and Valentinianus were discovered, also a silver one of the emperor Julia, A.D. 360. There were also coins, third brass, of Gallienus, Tetricus, Constantine, Constans, Carausius, and Arcadius. Bone pins, a bodkin or needle, a fragment of a bowl of Samian ware, some black pottery, etc., and a cup of Samian ware, with the maker's name (PRIMA) were found, and one of the sides of a knife-handle of bone. It appeared that alterations had been made in the original structure of some of these buildings, none of which were, however, of any great extent. The finest object discovered was a small tessellated pavement, which was taken up and has been deposited in the Caerleon museum.

The most interesting part of the research that has been made, relates to the baths which existed near to the spot where the tessellated pavement was found in 1777. These consisted of a series of apartments, conjectured by Mr. Morgan to be a complete set of Roman baths attached to a dwelling-house, for private, not public use. They exhibit the *frigidarium*, with the piscina or cold water tank; the *apodyterium*, or dressing-room; the *tepidarium*, or moderately heated chamber; the *caldarium*, or strongly heated chamber; with the *calida piscina*, or hot bath; and the *sudatorium*, or sweating chamber. The entire building covers an area of thirty-one feet by thirty-four, and a plan is given of it on plate xxxvi.³ In the construction of these places we learn that no arches have been used, the apertures through the walls, with the exception of the first, being all covered by a series of horizontal overlapping stones, forming a pseudo-arch, till at last one stone crowns the opening. "There seems to me," Mr. Morgan says, "some practical science in this arrangement. A single stone might have cracked with the heat; but these overlapping stones would allow of expansion and contraction, and thus no displacement or fracture would occur."⁴

Here the examination has terminated; the excavation has been carefully filled in, and it will remain for future antiquaries to extend the research,—a measure highly desirable; for Caerwent, it must be admitted, has not yet been sufficiently investigated, or received the attention it so eminently merits. The extent and arrangement of the VENTA SILURUM are still to be developed.

¹ Archæologia, xxxvi, p. 429.

² Ib., p. 431.

³ Ib., p. 433.

⁴ P. 437.

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ON

THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF BATH.

FORMING THE INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE DELIVERED AT
THE CONGRESS IN AUGUST 1856.

BY JAMES HEYWOOD MARKLAND, ESQ., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.

GENTLEMEN,—I am requested by the president (whose absence I much regret), my brother trustees, and the committee of the Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institution, to give you, as I do most sincerely from myself, a cordial greeting on your arrival in this city; and I can assure you that there are many gentlemen amongst us who will gladly cooperate with you in the interesting pursuits in which you are engaged.

The objects of this Association have been so often and so well explained, that it is needless for me, at this day, to dwell upon them. Time has tested the solidity of its foundations and the value and usefulness of its researches and proceedings. Institutions which have been formed for the investigation of our national antiquities, and other objects of a kindred nature, may indeed justly aspire to the distinction of contributing both to the improvement and the happiness of mankind, by having opened new sources of mental occupation and interest to every class of society: for we have no selfish objects, and the ingenious mechanic, especially the skilful workers in wood and stone—now happily beginning to abound—may with others largely profit by our labours.

Thus, in the journey of life, the pursuits of this society present resources which ensure both ease and relaxation to the traveller,—the search after truth dignifies the inquiries in which we are engaged. Our ancestors, Leland, Camden, and Dugdale, were no ordinary men: they have bequeathed to us much for which we should be grateful; but, after their days, a blight came over us, and antiquarian studies, as you are well aware, were either altogether neglected, or became the occasional subject of ridicule.

In our time there has sprung up a love of what is old, of what is beautiful, of what is venerable,—a desire to cherish memorials of the past, and to keep before our eyes the vestiges of times which are brought vividly before us in no other way. Not only the zeal displayed in their investigation, but the endeavours which now are made for preserving the remains of antiquity in their integrity, are marked features of excellence in our modern archæological societies. Instances exist where they have happily exercised a beneficial influence, either by timely interposition preventing absolute destruction, or, what is equally to be deplored, the restoration, so called, of an ancient and interesting structure by ignorant and daring hands. In how many works, undertaken in the ages immediately preceding our own, have history, and what is truly exquisite in mediæval art, been altogether sacrificed! The subject has most properly engaged the attention of our most able architects; and Mr. Scott's volume on "the faithful restoration of ancient churches" should be well studied by every one about to be engaged in this difficult and delicate task. To sweep away the walls of a venerable building, and replace them by what is new, however beautiful in itself, offers a violence to some of our best feelings. Cecil, in his *Remains*, scruples not to say that—

"Within these walls have been resounded, for centuries, prayers and praises. The very damp that trickles down the walls, and the unsightly green upon the pillars, are far more pleasing to me *from their associations*, than the trim, finished, heathen piles of the present day."

Who will not agree with Mr. Petit in his judicious remarks?

"There are few of our parish churches that have not a certain *individual character*, as impossible to define, but as easy to recognize, as the

features of a countenance. This the tide of modern architecture threatens to overwhelm; to bring all indiscriminately to one standard and level. I would ask, is the moral effect produced by this sweeping system beneficial?"

Most gladly do I point to some magnificent works which have been accomplished in our own time. Our cathedrals, in numberless instances, have been placed under the guardianship of men of enlightened zeal and of great munificence, who, by the faithful and reverent restoration of these glorious fabrics, have exhibited a spirit worthy of the days of Wykeham and Waynflete, Joceline and Beckington. To Ely and Llandaff, and to the accomplished men who have presided over these churches, I would more especially advert.

It is certainly a striking feature of the present age, that, when the country has attained unprecedented greatness and prosperity; when works of a stupendous character, calling forth all the talent, ingenuity, and perseverance of man, are exhibited; when the events that occur in far distant lands, are, by the powers of electricity, communicated almost instantaneously at our own doors;—I say that it is a striking, and it is also a gratifying fact, that we allow not these wondrous works to absorb our attention, but that we regard with increased veneration the memorials of past ages. They come home strongly to the heart of an Englishman,—they are associated with so much that is dear to his feelings,—they are bound up with so much that he reveres and loves,—that, though he sees hills levelled or perforated, millions expended in lines of road, which transport him from the Orkneys to the Land's End, still the border tower, the village church and spire, and the Elizabethan mansion, are now valued, restored, and strengthened, with an attention, care, and skill, which for nearly two centuries were unknown, or were certainly unpractised amongst us. It is, as it were (I quote professor Stanley's beautiful language),—

"God's compensation to the world for its advancing years. Earlier ages care but little for these relics of antiquity: one is swept away after another, to make room for what is yet to come; precious works of art, precious recollections, are trampled under foot,—the very abundance in which they exist seems to beget an indifference towards them. But in proportion as they become fewer and fewer, the affection for them grows

stronger and stronger; and the further we proceed from the past, the more eager seems our craving to attach ourselves to it by every link that remains."

Still how tardy have we been in following the footsteps of foreign societies. Twenty-eight years ago I addressed a letter to lord Aberdeen, the president of the Society of Antiquaries (of which society I was then director), on the expediency of attaching a museum of antiquities to that institution. We had great encouragement from individuals who offered their collections; and from the noble lord's official station, great facilities to effect this object would have been afforded. But the suggestion was received with the same apathy which marked the proposal for transferring the Faussett antiquities to the British Museum. As was said years ago, "they manage these things better in France". Look at the antiquarian treasures you find in foreign museums!

You, gentlemen, have accomplished much. How large a portion of England have you traversed! how much of its history and topography have you illustrated! The Archæological Institute and various local societies have been also untiring in their labours and researches; and I refer to the valuable series of volumes published by the two associations, as having yielded, doubtless to hundreds of persons, as they have to myself, much of instruction, information, and enjoyment.

Intimately connected, as I have been, from its foundation, with the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society, I do not hesitate to speak of its exertions in the good cause which you are now assembled to promote, and which have not been inferior to those of other local associations in point of interest and importance.

I shall now beg to call your attention to the city in which we are assembled. From the earliest days, Bath presents historical features well deserving attention. We may carry its history to that period when petty barbarian states were intent only on repelling their neighbours or enlarging their territories, and possessed no other mode of adjusting their differences, and securing their frontiers, than to construct artificial bulwarks, serving at once for division and defence, planned on the simplest mechanism, and executed by the mere strength of multitudes. These

earthworks must be esteemed stupendous operations, not only if we regard their solidity and extent, but the inconveniences of ground and impracticabilities of country over which they were conducted with a sort of blind but unbaffled perseverance.

Of the Wansdyke, traces will be found near at hand, *viz.* at Southstoke, at Englishcombe, and in Prior park: at what period, and for what purpose, this mighty work was constructed, no very satisfactory account has been given. Sir Richard Hoare and others seem inclined to think with Collinson, that this gigantic dyke was the great boundary of the Belgæ before the invasion of Cæsar; the last frontier boundary of the encroachments of the Belgæ northward; that the Romans made use of it, but that its increased strength, its elevated and extended state, may be attributed with more propriety to the Saxons. Of this most interesting earthwork, and of his investigation of its course, sir R. Hoare speaks with all the enthusiasm of a sportsman engaged from day to day in the chase.

I forbear touching further upon the Wansdyke, as my friend Mr. Scarth has, in a valuable essay contributed to the Somersetshire Society, treated the subject of "The Ancient Earthworks around Bath" with his usual ability: indeed, I must say that he has exhausted it. I may just add that he considers both Collinson and sir Richard Hoare to have fallen into some error; but as you will have the opportunity both of judging of the work for yourselves from examination, and of listening to Mr. Scarth, I will not enter into any discussion on this interesting point.

With regard to camps, we may turn our eyes to that of Sulisbury, so closely connected both in situation and in name with our city, the Aquæ Sulis of the Britons, the Aquæ Solis of the Romans. From our hill of Lansdown, a chain of ancient fortresses have been traced, extending along the Avon and the Severn, through Clifton and the Old Passage, reaching to Bredon hill in Worcestershire, in one direction, and to Cirencester in another.

These stations—well described by the late Mr. Lloyd Baker in the nineteenth volume of the *Archæologia*—not fewer than twenty-five in number, extend upwards of forty miles in a north-east direction, capable of communicating

with each other by signals. From some of these stations as many as six others could be seen, so that an alarm might be given on the approach of an enemy with an ease and certainty which appear to have been most judiciously consulted. We have repeated proofs, in these fortresses, that the Romans were well disposed to adopt those stations which had been originally selected by earlier settlers. As one instance, the Roman camp of Woodchester is in the immediate neighbourhood of the earthen fortress of Uley Bury.

That Bath should be selected by the Romans as a favoured residence, is very natural. To that people the warm springs must have been a great attraction, partly compensating for the luxurious baths of Dioclesian and Caracalla, which they had left at home, and reconciling them, in some measure, to this colder climate.

The Roman antiquities by which we are surrounded, and which will furnish interesting subjects of investigation, will show that the city possessed buildings of real magnificence; and the number of tessellated pavements that have been discovered, is proof that various villas had been erected within a few miles of the city. Enough of the works of the Roman people remains to show that the "City of the Sun" was adorned with statues; that the sculptured tombs of its inhabitants were placed along the sides of the roads which pointed towards it, and that it possessed numerous altars.

The fragments of the principal building (a portion of the portico of the temple of Minerva) were well described by sir H. C. Englefield, soon after their discovery in 1790, in the tenth volume of the *Archæologia*. They have been illustrated by the late excellent antiquary, Mr. Samuel Lysons, in a beautiful work published by him in 1802; also by the researches of governor Pownall, and our own historian, the venerable Richard Warner;—of this useful writer and excellent man, a nonagenarian, we may justly speak in praise, especially in a library which has upon so many occasions benefited by his liberality.—I do not further dwell upon them, as I otherwise should have done, as the Roman antiquities of Bath have already formed the subject of a very interesting lecture delivered by Mr. Scarth in March 1853; and I believe that they will form the

subject of a paper by the same gentleman, to be read at this meeting.

It is somewhat extraordinary, that, tracing the history of Bath downwards, from the time of its occupation by the Romans, so very little should exist in the shape of ancient architectural remains. Of mediæval antiquities very few, if any, are to be found. We have scarcely a Saxon or Norman relic left amongst us.

A description of Bath, in the reign of Henry VI, from the pen of Thomas Chandler, chancellor of Wells, never having appeared in print, may not be uninteresting. The manuscript from which it is extracted was noticed by Mr. Hunter, and was considered to be lost; but it is still preserved in the library of Trinity college, Cambridge, with other treatises by Chandler, in the very volume that belonged to bishop Beckington, and which Leland saw in the library at Wells. This MS., of which I have been favoured with a copy by the kindness of the librarian and professor Willis, is in Latin, composed in a sort of dramatic form; the speakers being Andrew of Wells and Peter of Bath, named after the patron saints of the two cities, each asserting the superior pretensions of his own city to the preference of the diocesan, as the seat of his episcopal throne. My friend, the rev. F. Kilvert, selected some portions of this manuscript for translation; and to him I am indebted for the following extracts.

Andrew, the champion of Wells, scruples not to fix upon this, the sister city, the foul character which Smollett attached to the "Athens of the North"—"*fætida ac sulphurea villa—ita immunda, ut quicquid ibi sordis noctu factum sit, id manè ponat ante oculos hominum et pedibus per vias calcandum subjiciat.*" You are, doubtless, so well acquainted with Smollett's allusion to the impurities of Edinburgh in 1771, that I need only refer to the passage in which they are mentioned.

On the other hand, Peter, in his praise of Bath, indulges in the following lavish encomiums:

"Why should I speak of its situation? Nothing is more elegant and magnificent. Amongst its charms are shady groves, flowery meadows, pleasant streams, transparent fountains, and, above all, the very nature of the place formed for delight,—for the very hills themselves, by which the city is surrounded, seem to smile and to diffuse a delight with which

beholders cannot satisfy themselves, or be weary of surveying; so that the whole region round about may rightly be esteemed and named a sort of Paradise, to which nothing in the whole world is equal in respect of beauty or delight. In such a degree is this city environed with verdant meadows, and with the most salutary herbs, that nothing can be more distinguished. Allured by the fame of its beauty, and for the sake of health, many persons resort to behold this city; and so much are they struck with its grandeur, its elegance, and its wealth, that they consider others only as handmaids, but acknowledge this as the mistress of the rest. The whole compass of the city, in fine, is encircled, as by a coronet, by a splendid wall; and unless it be surveyed within, all its beauty cannot be beheld, for it has not less grace of decoration within its walls than without; nor are only one or two of its streets neat and elegant, but all its parts: for as the blood is diffused throughout the body, so is grace and elegance diffused through the whole city. What shall I say of the antiquity and nobility of its origin? To me, indeed, all these things seem worthy to be commended with no ordinary praise. Moreover, if you consider the temperature and fineness of the climate, you will easily be induced to think that you have never seen elsewhere a clearer sky, a brighter sun, or more brilliant stars. Add to these, the perennial flow of heated springs marvellously supplied for the benefit of man, over which, as Solinus says, Minerva presides,—in whose temple perpetual fires never whiten into ashes. What can be more wonderful, or more blessed, than this provision, by which all men, high and low, rich and poor, receive the cure of all their maladies?"

It is due to Wells, a city which you have lately visited with so much pleasure, that its beauties and its superiority over Bath, as asserted by its advocate, Andrew, should be also described :

"As the inhabitants of this city greatly surpass all other men in a peculiar natural talent, knowledge, eloquence, and magnificence, so also does the city itself, most judiciously situated, excel all other cities in splendour, elegance, and cleanliness. For neither is it boastfully placed on the summit of hills, from whence it may ostentatiously display itself, nor yet on the level of a spacious plain: for in an elevated position it is not possible to dwell without the adverse influences of weather, without winds, without storms, without the greatest inconvenience to the inhabitants. Nor again, in an extensive plain, without moisture of soil, without impurity of air, without the obscurity of vapours. Avoiding, therefore, these inconveniences, this city of ours is placed in such a position as (which in all matters is most approved) to have secured a medium between extremes, being equally remote from the inequalities of a hilly and the dreariness of a level situation; yet, so far does it combine both,

as to lose the advantages of neither, and to enjoy a wonderfully agreeable temperature : for on the east and north it is defended by elevated tracts, as by a sort of rampart, against the violent force and furious assaults of the cold winds ; towards the south, whose violence is more moderate, it is sheltered by hills of lower elevation ; and towards the west a champagne country extends. There is, therefore, in the situation, complete shelter and an excellent temperature ; whereas, in every direction from it, you would have to encounter either too much cold or too much heat. Why should I mention the number of its inhabitants, the most glorious and beautiful church of the immortal Andrew, the apostle of God, the splendour of the sacred palace and of its other buildings ? All are conspicuous, and adorned with surpassing beauty."

Chandler, the author of this work, was singularly fortunate in the rapid acquisition of several most valuable pieces of preferment. For these he was doubtless, in great measure, indebted to bishops Beckington and Wykeham ; but, as amongst them may be included the wardenship of Winchester college, 1450 ; of New college, 1453 ; the mastership of St. Cross and the chancellorship of the university of Oxford, from 1457 to 1461 ; we may reasonably suppose that he was regarded both as a man of talent and of high character.

Our abbey claims attention, not from its antiquity, but as being the last, in point of date, of English cathedrals. "The last building of any magnitude, erected in this country" (observes sir H. Englefield), "in a style purely Gothic, and being the only one which remains in the state in which it was originally designed." The alterations made in 1834, by giving pinnacles to the octagonal turrets of the tower and other parts of the building, cannot be commended. If we refer to the prints in the publication of the Society of Antiquaries (1798), and to Britton's history of the abbey (1825), we shall not hesitate in preferring the original design to these later additions. The clearing away what sir Harry Englefield called "the miserable habitations" which disfigured the building, and the restoration of prior Bird's monumental chapel, were most creditable to those concerned in these works. This chapel is admirable from the beauty of its design and proportions.

To the antiquary, therefore, when compared with some other English towns, Bath possesses but few attractions : still, if he has an eye for whatever is picturesque, the

stranger must be struck with a city of great beauty, placed in a country of almost unrivalled loveliness. Speaking of the city itself, Macaulay says, "it charms even eyes familiar with the masterpieces of Bramante and Palladio".

The reign of queen Elizabeth was a marked era in Bath, as elsewhere. She visited sir John Harington, a favourite godson, the translator of the *Orlando Furioso*, at his mansion at Kelweston (Kelston), in 1590. Sir John had employed an Italian artist, Barozzi, to design for him this mansion, which he had fitted up in a style of magnificence suited to the taste of the age. The mansion which preceded this, built by sir John's father, the grantee of Kelston (he having married a natural daughter of Henry VIII), is said to have been the largest at that time in the county (*Nugæ Antiquæ*, p. 8). It seems somewhat strange that it should have existed only during one generation. Probably the poet's Italian villa was an adaptation of the older residence to a taste growing into fashion. The queen, we are told, dined "right royally under the fountain which played in the court". It is to be regretted that almost every vestige of this mansion, even of the fountain and the court, part of an old wall excepted, has been swept away. Some out-buildings remain; and the foundations of the mansion house may be traced. A letter addressed by sir John Harington (probably to lord Burleigh) presents a view of the city worth repeating on the present occasion:

"The citie of Bathe, my lord, being both poore enough and proude enough, hath, since her highnesse being there, wonderfully beautified itselfe in fine houses for victualling and lodging, but decayes as fast as their ancient and honeste trades of merchandize and clothing. The faire church her highnesse gave order should be re-edified, stands at a stay; and the common sewer, which before stood in an ill place, stands now in no place, for they have not any at all; which, for a towne so plentifullye served of water, in a countrey so well provided of stone, in a place resorted unto so greatly (being at two times of the year, as it were, the pilgrimage of health to all saints [?]), methinke seemeth an unworthie and dishonourable thing. Wherefore, if your lordship would authorise me, or some wiser than me, to take a strict account of the money, by her majestie's gracious graunt gathered, and to be gathered; which, in the opinion of manie, cannot be lesse than ten thousand pounds (though, not to wrong them, I thinke they have bestowed upon the pointe of ten thousand pounds, abating but one cipher), I would not doubt of a

ruinate church to make a reverent church, and of an unsavourie town a sweet town."

Sir John being, "by the unanimous consent of his own age, a man of extraordinary wit", gave one specimen of it regarding the abbey church; for we are told that, conversing with bishop Montague near the abbey, it happened to rain, which afforded an opportunity of asking the bishop to shelter himself within the church. Care was taken to convey the prelate into that aisle which had been despoiled of the lead, and was nearly roofless. As the situation was far from securing his lordship against the weather, he remarked that it did not shelter him. "Doth it not, my lord? Then let me sue your bounty towards covering our poor church; for if it keep us not safe from the waters above, how shall it save others from the fires beneath?" The bishop, we know, became a liberal benefactor.

Bath did not suffer in the great rebellion. The Cornish forces possessed themselves of the city in 1643. Here, lord Clarendon tells us, they rested and refreshed themselves till they might receive new orders from the king, who was then bent to attack the city of Bristol. The great military proceedings of that day, connected with this locality, took place on Lansdown and its immediate neighbourhood; but the city itself underwent no siege nor disturbance. In a minor rebellion, Bath did not take any part. From the near approach of the king's forces, Monmouth, on the 25th June, 1685, when at Keynsham, determined not to attack Bristol, as seems to have been wished; but to march to Gloucester, and thence proceed to Shropshire and Cheshire. That plan was also abandoned, as Wiltshire was preferred. They marched on that night, and were before Bath on the following morning. When before the city, Monmouth drew up his forces and summoned it to surrender, but without any expectation that it would do so. After this bravado, which cost the poor herald his life, the army marched to Philips Norton. The Philips Norton fight is rather a memorable one amongst the duke's battles. Macaulay says that Bath was strongly garrisoned for the king, and that the rebels, therefore, made no attempt on the walls,

Successive members of the royal family have frequented our city, and memorials of several of these events exist.

The queen of James II tried the effect of the waters to give an heir to the throne; with what success, the earl of Melfort commemorated upon a pillar erected in the Cross Bath, in what Gough calls "a bombast and impudent inscription". It commences as follows:

" In perpetuam
Reginæ Mariæ memoriam,
Quam Cælo, in Bathônienses thermas
Irradiante, Spiritus Domini, qui fertur
Super aquas,
Trium regnorum heredis
Genitricem effecit."

The prince of Wales' visit, in 1738, is commemorated by an obelisk in Queen-square; which is noticed here as the inscription upon it was, at Nash's request, written by Pope. The poet sends it in a characteristic and ill-tempered letter; and, strange to say, the words actually inscribed on the stone slightly *vary* from what Pope composed. Was Nash so presumptuous as to venture to alter what Pope had written?

The style of domestic architecture existing in Bath at the beginning of the last century, and the species of accommodation afforded to visitors in lodging houses, may be best gathered from the curious plan which you will find suspended in the lobby. Our intelligent librarian, Mr. Charles Palmer Russell, who is more conversant with the ancient maps or plans of Bath than any other person, and possesses probably the most perfect collection of them, tells me that the plan in question appeared at three distinct periods.

To these houses and to this plan you will remember Macaulay refers. The writer quoted by him is the architect Wood, who published an account of Bath about 1740. Wood tells us, that in his younger days, "about the year 1727, the visitors to the springs were exposed to the greatest discomforts—the floors uncarpeted and coloured brown, with a wash made from soot and small beer, in order to hide the dirt" (ii, 348). This quotation has exposed the historian to an attack from his bitter reviewer in the *Quarterly*, who censures him for transplanting into the life of Charles II what belongs more properly to the

reign of George II. Evelyn's and Pepys' Diaries, which are also referred to by Macaulay, do not exactly confirm his statements; the former describes the city with streets, "narrow, uneven, and unpleasant."

Pepys paid a visit to Bath in 1668; so that the first time he saw the city, he had attained his thirty-sixth year—an additional proof how little locomotion prevailed in his days. He tells us that he "resolved to see the Bath, and, it may be, Bristol." He commended the county, as, indeed, it deserves. He pronounces "the town clean, and the streets narrow." The bathing "by wholesale, so many bodies together in the same water, struck him as not clean." The walls of the city he describes as "good, and the battlements all whole." Of these but one insulated fragment remains, viz., in the street still called the Borough Walls, near the General Hospital; and, as it has been mentioned in print, I may add, that had I not interposed at a critical moment, this interesting relic might have disappeared. A brighter day approached; but the new buildings, before 1720, were chiefly devoted to public purposes. Between 1727 and 1748, many handsome private residences were erected on land belonging to Mr. Gay, the duke of Chandos, and others.

The talents of Wood have not been fairly appreciated; Warburton strongly censured him, as he was apt to do both the living and the dead. Many of Wood's works will not stand close criticism, but on the other hand, there are several which prefer strong claims to praise; the north side of Queen-square and Prior Park are the productions of no ordinary architect. I would also call your attention to some specimens of domestic architecture, which existed in the days of Allen and Nash, from drawings by Mr. Lansdown, now laid upon the table; others might be placed before you of the same period, where something of a palatial character was given to the residences of the viscount Weymouth, Mr. Allen, and others. When London was little frequented by country families, these winter residences in provincial cities furnished to their inhabitants many of the gaieties which are sought by the present generation in the metropolis. The change is of course the main reason why many of our provincial towns have fallen into decay.

This rapid and most imperfect sketch would be still more defective, were I not to speak of the Athenæ Bathonienses, those who in their day have given life and animation to the lovely scenes around us. And if the charge of frivolity has been brought against this city, ought it not rather to attach to very many of those who have been visitants, those who came hither purposely in search of amusement, of something to charm the vacant hour, not to the natives and residents of Bath? The Blunderhead family and kindred tribes of that distinguished race came from afar, but the pen that described them, with a keenness and wit that have been rarely equalled, was wielded by a resident in our Crescent, and the fruits of his genius have secured for him a memorial in Poets' Corner.

Mr. Hunter, in his beautiful essay, which, after a lapse of twenty-six years, he, at my request, as president of the Bath Literary Club, republished, with large additions, has shewn us that the city of "Bath has ever had, and deserves to have, a name in the literature and science of England." Let us call to remembrance the names of Harington, Daniel, Prynne, Hales, the Falconers, Graves, Smollett, Conybeare, Burney, and Austen. Very many others might I name; and if we turn to antiquaries, I would mention Pownall, Luders, Lysons, Leman, Way, and Hunter, as forming a body to which we owe the deepest obligations.¹

I would also recall to your recollection that, at one extremity of the city, in the mansion of Prior Park, Warburton wrote the concluding volumes of his gigantic work, *The Divine Legation of Moses*. Under what roof could be assembled a more splendid constellation of genius than under that of "Humble Allen"? so brightly did it shine, so great were its attractions, that when Pope sent the first invitation to Warburton to pass a month or six weeks there, he seems to beckon him to a high intellectual feast, an assembly of the wise, the good, and the witty. Garrick, as appears by his correspondence, was tempted to wish that the evening of his days might be passed rather on the banks of the Avon than of the Thames.

At the other extremity of Bath, tradition tells us, was

¹ Mr. Monkland, in his *Essays on the Literature and Literati of Bath*, has brought down his sketches, from the time of John Hales, to the present day, and has given us several interesting notices of celebrated individuals whose names had not been recorded in Mr. Hunter's pages.

written a work giving us the portrait of Allen in the exquisite character of Allworthy, and conferring on the author of *Tom Jones* an undying fame. Gibbon scruples not to call it the first of ancient or modern romances, one that will outlive the palace of the Escorial, and the imperial eagle of the house of Austria. If there are passages in this work at which delicacy takes offence, let us remember that the age when Fielding lived permitted far different and stronger language than our own. Scott, whose noble mind rejected all mock sentiment, and could sympathise with every generous feeling, declared that he does not believe that in any instance "the perusal of this novel has added one libertine to the large list, who would not have been such had it never crossed the press"; and an excellent prelate now living, told me that he should not hesitate placing the book in the hands of a young man, if accompanied with suitable cautions and advice. Fielding was the father of English novelists, and in his powers of strong and natural humour, and forcible yet natural exhibition of character, he has been unapproached as yet by the most successful of his followers. His "hope of charming ages yet to come, and of being read with honour by those who never knew or saw him," has been fully accomplished; for it has been said, "as long as the heart of the English language remains the same, so long will Fielding be read with equal interest, pleasure and advantage." Allen has acquired a reflected fame by his friendship with distinguished men, and by the tributes paid him by Pope, Fielding, and Warburton; but he merits far higher praise from the assemblage of moral virtues which adorned his own spotless character. The General Hospital of Bath, where his bust and portrait grace the walls, is one memorial of his princely liberality; and his guardianship of two of Fielding's children, left in poverty by their witty but improvident father, strikingly proves that he practised that highest of Christian virtues, the care of the fatherless and the widow. Allen resembled Johnson's friend Thræle: both sprang from an humble origin; both were men of the highest integrity, very wealthy, very generous; and they became from their position and their sterling qualities, objects of attention with those far above them, both in worldly rank and literary acquirements.

To Anstey I must revert, and dwell a moment on his merits.

“From wealth, from honour, and from courts remov’d,
He kept the silent path his genius lov’d.”

But while his name, in this place especially, reminds us chiefly of one of his poems, “the only thing in fashion,” says Gray, in 1766, certainly not forgotten in 1856, we are apt to be neglectful of his other writings. He could, indeed, pass from gay to grave, from lively to severe, “haud solertior lectori risum movere, quam tristi querimoniâ elicere lacrymas.”

One word as to living worthies. The venerable and attached friend of Southey, whose earliest poems, it may be observed, were published in Bath in 1794, Mr. Landor, has long been a resident of this city, and claims the foremost mention.

A sound scholar, “a ripe and good one, too”, the rev. Francis Kilvert, has long been identified with Bath. To him we owe a valuable volume connected with Prior park, a *Selection from Bishop Warburton's Unpublished Papers*; and though we cannot say of the writings of that prelate, as of Pearson, that the “very dust is gold”, yet whatever fell from Warburton’s pen deserves attention; and in this volume his moral character is exhibited in a more amiable point of view than it had previously appeared.¹ The accomplished translator of *Leaves from Eusebius*, who is distinguished also for his learned researches on the necrology of Egypt and other recondite subjects, deserves a more special notice than he would approve on this public occasion. Bath does not possess a critic of sounder judgment or purer taste.² Nor can I consider this enumeration complete without the mention of that accomplished scholar and able divine who now worthily presides over King Edward’s Grammar School in this city, the rev. A. J. Maclean.

I must not, however, trespass longer on your indulgence. To the interesting nature of our pursuits I have adverted

¹ To Mr. Kilvert we also owe an interesting work, entitled *Pinacothecæ Historiæ Specimen*, containing miniature portraits of eminent characters, in the form of inscriptions, which obtained the warm approval of that distinguished scholar and excellent judge, the late bishop Copleston.

² The rev. H. Street, M.A., formerly of Balliol college, Oxford.

at the commencement of my address. I would add, in conclusion, that they teach also the most useful of lessons,—the vanity of all human aims, wishes, and expectations. Time has its influence on the greatest works of man: “the grace and fashion of them perish”. How much of what was built for eternity, has, from age, neglect, and violence, fallen into dust! The very monuments of the dead, vast and apparently durable as they were originally designed, are oftentimes, from the mouldering touch of years, as little able as are the bones beneath them, to explain their history and the names that they were to commemorate. So, too, with the offspring of the intellect: how few works of genius and talent inherit a deathless fame! On the other hand, the hills that surround us; the springs that gush beneath our feet, graciously given for the healing of mankind, pour forth, as they have done from the Creation, their exhaustless supplies: no time, no symptom of decay, affect the works of Him who conceived them in His wisdom, who sustains them by His power, until, at His dread command, “there shall be time no longer”.

Let me again assure you, gentlemen, of a most hearty welcome, and of our earnest desire that your visit to this city may be as agreeable to yourselves as it is to us.

ON ANCIENT EARTHWORKS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF BATH,

ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE RIVER AVON.

BY THE REV. H. M. SCARTH, M.A.

THE task which I have undertaken, to give some account of the ancient earthworks to be found in the neighbourhood of Bath, although full of interest, and not without abundant matter, has, however, its own peculiar difficulties. Many traces, a few years ago very discernible, are now obliterated. Modern cultivation and the increase of habitations, the erection of villas in pleasant localities, the rapid enclosure and breaking up of waste lands, as the city has increased its population and extended its proportions; the substitution of modern names for ancient ones, and the change of inhabitants induced by the facility now afforded for change of residence,—all tend to obscure, and, in the end, obliterate the marks of ancient occupation and the traces of past events. Hence, in the rapid progress of modern improvement, the necessity of chronicling whatever either still remains, or is known to have existed, of the works of bygone ages. Ancient roads have become neglected, forgotten, and at length incorporated with the tilled lands; ancient barrows ploughed over till they became level with the surrounding country; boundary lines brought down, in like manner, to the surface of the plain; and the camp encroached upon, and finally destroyed, by quarrying, or leveled for the purposes of tillage, or else planted over to render the ground more profitable, or improve the landscape. Spots formerly used for interment are now converted into sites for dwellings; places where coins have been discovered, and foundations of ancient buildings once existed, have been forgotten, ancient tombs destroyed; and thus, year by year, the tokens of the early inhabitants of the country pass away from our notice, and must perish for ever unless recorded by history.

The facts to which I have alluded have come under my own knowledge within the space of a comparatively few

years. One camp has been almost eradicated by the plough, another by quarrying ; two or three sites of ancient burial places built over ; a great portion of an ancient boundary line ploughed up, many ancient barrows levelled, and two Roman villas and their pavements removed, and the stones of a Druidical temple carried away ; while a chambered tumulus would have been destroyed but for timely interference. It is time, therefore, that we chronicle without delay what still of antiquity remains to us.

And first we will begin with that most ancient boundary line, WANSDYKE, a portion of which is visible in a grass field at the back of Prior park ; but the plough has nearly erased every trace of it from this point to the ancient camp on Hampton Down. Wansdyke must not be mentioned without a brief notice of the nature of this most curious and interesting remnant of antiquity. Any lengthened notice of it here would be out of place : we are concerned only with that portion which passes through Somersetshire, or, more properly now, with the reliques of it which remain in the immediate neighbourhood of Bath ; but a concise statement of its course may not be out of place here. Sir R. C. Hoare caused a very careful survey to be made of the whole course of Wansdyke, through Wilts and Somerset, which is recorded in the second volume of his *Ancient Wilts*, where will be found plans and a full account of the traces that remained in his time. If we presume to have recognized some faint traces in the neighbourhood of Bath, which have been overlooked by sir Richard and his surveyors, we shall not, I think, be deemed presumptuous in recording them, as it is the purpose of societies like the present to supply deficiencies, or correct errors, in the statements of previous writers, as well as to gather up what remains to us of historical value in our own time.

Camden mentions this remarkable earthwork ; which is again noticed by Aubrey in his MS. collections, whose account is taken from Camden. Speaking of Wiltshire, he says :

“ The midel of this shire, which for the most part lyeth plain and even, is divided athwart from e. to w. with a dyke of wonderful work, cast up for many miles together in length. The people dwelling thereabout call it Wansdyke And in the Saxon tongue it is called Wodenesdic, *i.e.*

the ditch of Woden, or Mercury; and as it should seem, from Woden, that false imagined god and father of the English Saxons, who made it as a limit to divide the two kingdoms of the Mercians and West Saxons asunder. For this was the very place of battle between them whiles they strove one with another to enlarge their dominions. And near unto this dyke standeth Wodenburge, a little village where Ceauline, the most warlike king of the West Saxons, a° 590, whiles he defended his marshes in a bloody fight, received such a foile and overthrow by the Britons and Englishmen, that he was forced to fly his country and end his days in exile. . . . Also at this very dyke, Ina the West Saxon, and Ceolred the Mercian, joined battle (a° 715), and departed the field on even hand."

Aubrey commenced his researches A.D. 1663, during the reign, and by order, of Charles II.

Dr. Stukeley resumed the subject about a century after. He notices Wansdyke in his *Itin. Curiosum*, published A.D. 1776. The learned doctor endeavours to overthrow the notion of Wansdyke being a Saxon work, or that its name is derived from *Woden*. He says its name shews it to be a work previous to Roman times: signifying, in the old British language, *division dyke*—"guahan" (*distinctio, separatio*). It is, indeed, the work of the *Belgæ*, and made by the people of the south to cover their country, and was the most northern boundary of the Belgic kingdom.

Sir R. C. Hoare himself observes that this celebrated dyke was most probably, in ancient times, the great boundary of the *Belgæ* before the invasion of Cæsar. But we must not suppose that in those early times it existed in its present elevated and extended state; for its increased strength may be attributed to the Saxons. This, in another place, he states to have been clearly demonstrated by cutting through the dyke in two places, when the more recent work appeared superadded to the old. Stukeley also points out where he observed that the dyke had been turned to the purpose of a Roman road, and part of the agger left as a parapet to protect the road on the side of a deep declivity.

It seems pretty certain that Wansdyke, after entering Wilts on the brow of Farleigh Down, above the river Avon, has been turned to the purpose of a Roman road. Sir Richard says, "it is not without strong reasons that former antiquaries have supposed that the line of Roman road and Wansdyke are the same for a very considerable dis-

tance ; and this conjecture seems well grounded." " From a high ground above the down, near Farleigh Clump, to the western point of Calston, on Morgan's Hill, tradition has indeed given the name Wansdyke to this whole tract of Roman road."

To this, Mr. Leman adds a note. It not only bears the name of Wansditch throughout its whole course, but the *Saxon* "bank and ditch" are plainly visible, being made on the foundation of the previous Roman road, in the grounds of Mr. Fuller at Neston.

Thus we have three periods of history marked in Wansdyke : its Belgic origin or foundation, its Roman adaptation, and its Saxon completion.

And if it be said, I have here travelled out of Somerset, it must be remembered that, from the camp on Hampton Down, we can distinctly see Farleigh Clump, and the line taken by the Wansdyke on entering Wilts ; and it is with not a little satisfaction we may regard any discovery that throws light on this ancient wonder of our land.

As to the *first* formation of Wansdyke, we cannot arrive at the precise period ; but we may come near by conjecture. It is supposed that the Belgæ first invaded Britain four or five centuries before Cæsar. After crossing the Rhine, they conquered the Netherlands and all the part of Gaul north of the Seine ; and from Gessoricum (Boulogne) and Portus Itius (Wissant) crossed the channel into England, and drove the Celts from Kent, the greater part of Hants, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset,—and, as sir R. C. Hoare conjectures, Devon and Cornwall,—and from a part of Berks, where the Thames and Wansdyke became their boundary.

Be this as it may, the portion of its course which now concerns us, is that point where it enters Somerset, on the brow of Farleigh Down, and may be traced on Mr. Skrine's property to the point where it crosses the Avon and ascends the hill into Hampton Down camp, the *first* fortress on the line of Wansdyke in the county of Somerset. And it is to be remarked as a feature peculiar to Wansdyke, that, as sir R. C. Hoare observes, the camps appear to have been *added* to the dyke, not the dyke formed to connect the camps ; which may be noticed especially at Stantonbury camp, the *second* on the line of the course of Wansdyke through Somersetshire.

The three earthworks, which appear to have been made to strengthen this great frontier barrier, are: 1, Hampton Down camp; 2, Stantonbury; and 3, Maesknoll. From this last, no traces of Wansdyke can now, apparently, be discerned. Sir R. C. Hoare, in his survey, could discover none; nor have I been enabled myself, aided by a very industrious and persevering friend, to discover any. But Mr. Collinson, in his *History of Somerset* (who was vicar of Long Ashton, through which parish the Wansdyke is supposed to have passed), traces its course from Maesknoll to the Severn, and refers to a deed (3 Edward II) in which mention is made of it. No doubt the traces were much more distinct in his day than now.

Mr. Leman regards the two camps on Leigh Down, opposite to Clifton, called Bowre Walls and Stokesleigh, which crown the height where the suspension-bridge across the chasm, through which flows the Avon, is now in course of erection, as the point where Wansdyke terminated. One of these camps is much older than the other, and may have been the last fortress on the line of Wansdyke, and a point of observation whence to watch the motions of the rival tribe, the Dobuni, who seem to have had a station on Clifton Down, within which the Romans afterwards formed a camp, still to be traced.

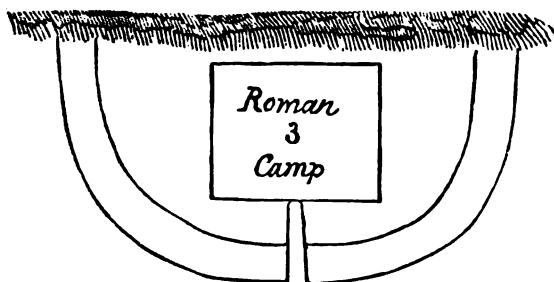
Stukeley says (*Iter* 6, p. 141, edit. 1724), "hereabouts are many camps, where ditches are hewn out of the solid rock. That above Bristol has four trenches, as many vallums, and but one entrance. One would think it impregnable to anything but hunger." Mr. Leman remarks on this: These camps on each side of the Avon, below Rownham Ferry, are extremely curious. The first, called Bowre Walls, remains in its original state, and exactly resembles the fortified post of Caractacus, so well described by Tacitus. The second, called Stokesleigh camp, has been altered by the Saxons, being the head of their celebrated Wansdyke; while the third, on Clifton Hill, still retains its British boundary, with the Roman camp within it. (See cut on the next page.)

Perhaps we shall not go far wrong in assigning this point as the termination of Wansdyke, although Collinson regards it as carried on to Portishead.

Somersetshire.



River Abone, or Avon.



Gloucestershire.

1. Bowre Walls. 2. Stokeleigh Camp. 3. On Clifton Down.

HAMPTON DOWN CAMP.

The ancient British or Belgic settlement on Hampton Down (supposing Wansdyke to be originally the work of the Belgæ) is one of the most interesting earthworks in the neighbourhood of Bath, and occupies a very commanding position. The river Avon flows on two sides of it; and the approach on both these is very precipitous: on the third it is protected by a ditch and mound, which connect the two valleys, and sever the fortress from the other portion of the hill, forming the southern boundary; the Wansdyke forms the northern. The western portion of the camp, facing Bathford, and the hill which crowns it, has been partly destroyed by quarries, which have here also effaced the traces of Wansdyke, where it leaves the camp and descends the hill to the canal and the river Avon. The view from the summit is most extensive and beautiful, overlooking the valley of the Avon towards Bristol, and again towards Box and along the course of the river towards Bradford, and having a clear view of the camps of Maesknoll and Stantonbury, on the line of Wansdyke towards Bristol; of that on Lansdown, on the point of the

hill overlooking North Stoke, and having Salisbury full in front of it, besides being able to communicate by signal with those on the Wiltshire hills. The extent of the fortified portion is thirty acres; but there are traces of various enclosures extending down the hill towards the entrance from Walcot into Bath. Here are no less than five long barrows, ranging in a sort of semicircle; and also several small round ones. These lie round the western entrance into the camp, and are situated near it, and may have formed the burial place of the settlement. A little distance below this interesting feature is the *spring* which supplied this portion of the camp with water.

The surface of the hill all along this point bears marks of having been scarped and formed into *terraces*, and then again divided by enclosures. The divisions on the face of the hill are very discernible towards sunset, especially when viewed from Salisbury Hill opposite; whence the entire structure and plan of the camp can be clearly traced out as in a map. Much cattle was probably sheltered here in time of danger, and at evening brought hither from the open glades adjoining the camp, to be kept in safety from the wolves which prowled in the forests around. On the approach from the south, and towards the top of Bathwick Hill, are to be seen the remains of a Roman camp, distant about two hundred or three hundred yards from the southern boundary. One half of this camp has unhappily been destroyed, and the remainder must shortly fall a sacrifice to the slow but sure action of the plough. The ditch and mound (part of Wansdyke) that enclosed the summit of the hill remain very perfect; and the entrance into the camp from the north may be distinctly traced, as well as the road through the camp, passing out on the south, not far from the present hand-gate. In following the course of the ditch (where Wansdyke can just be traced to have entered the camp) round the western part we come to a spot where the hard, compact nature of the rock has been too much for the tools used in making the ditch, and where the original workmen have been compelled to leave it standing out of the ground. This shews that their instruments were small, and only capable of splitting the rock where it was already shivered and dislocated. And this leads me to fix the construction of this

camp about the same period as the Celtic burial-ground at Wellow, where the chambers are formed entirely of large flagstones, set on their ends, split; but no tool like a chisel seems to have been used upon them. The interstices are filled up with small flagstones, into which the upper surface of the oolite about Bath is always fractured.

The divisions of the settlement are still distinctly visible. Each family or clan seems to have had its allotted space, enclosed by a mound, which probably carried on it a palisade, somewhat after the manner of the divisions which exist in the pah of the New Zealander. Remains of hut-circles may be very clearly traced in many portions. Skeletons, in a sitting posture, have been found in apertures in the rock on the sides of the hill. The camp on the north-west side is, as I have said, approached by a trackway, which seems to come up from the river in the direction of Bathwick.

Little has as yet been done towards examining the mounds within the camp, which might probably yield some objects of interest. But when the new Warminster road was made, which runs along the valley between the camp and the river, and material was taken from the skirts of the camp, ancient pottery of various kinds, from a coarse black to the more delicate red ware, was found (and is now to be seen in the museum of the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution) along with burnt bones, the teeth and bones of animals, iron nails and studs, and some other pieces of iron.

The most curious and important feature of this camp, however, seems to have been unnoticed when it was surveyed by Mr. Skinner and described by sir R. C. Hoare, as no notice is taken of it in the plan given in Mr. Phelps's *Somerset*; and that is the two enclosures on the sloping side of the hill towards the river, near the north-west entrance to the camp. In two of these enclosures are the remains of stone-circles, similar in appearance to those of Stanton Drew. Unhappily the larger stones have been removed within the memory of some of the present generation, in order to construct fancy cromlechs in the park, or to form rock-work in gardens! The smaller stones now only remain; and how much their original order may have been disarranged by the removal of the larger, we

cannot tell, for about thirty have been taken away. This is much to be regretted, as such a vestige of the religious or civil habits of the primæval inhabitants of this land can never be replaced. These enclosures are approached by avenues of stones leading out of the camp; and in approaching the settlement from the north-west, the first object that would meet the eye of the ancient inhabitant would be the place of religious worship or judicial assembly.

A camp called BREWYCHE CAMP, situated above Cottage-crescent, and on the course of the foss-road, is noticed by the historians of Somersetshire, one of whom describes it as the site of an ancient British village; but the camp is so completely defaced by quarrying stone, that no figure can be discerned, unless it be a portion of the rampart to the east.

Any notice of Hampton Down camp would be incomplete without referring to sir R. C. Hoare's description of it. He says: "The area is intersected throughout by small banks or divisions, raised with stone, and denoting ancient enclosures; and one old road passes through it from north to south, as at Maesknoll and Stantonbury. Wansdyke seems to form the northern boundary of this work." I have been enabled to trace a second road into the camp; from the north-west side, which I have already noticed, and I believe have succeeded also, by the aid of a friend, in ascertaining the direction of Wansdyke after leaving the camp, until you find it unmistakably developed in a grass field behind Prior park. It seems to have quitted the camp near the stile over which passes the footway from the top of Bathwick Hill, and to have made for a small clump of trees about the centre of the wall which separates this first from a second tillage field. Through this field it is distinctly to be traced until it crosses the road to Claverton, which is bordered on each side by a scanty wood; and over the next grass field, where it crosses the road from Bath to Warminster (or, as commonly called, the Brass Knocker road, *i.e.* the road leading to the Brass Knocker public house), and on through the next grass field into a field now in tillage. The plough has in these fields (once in tillage) sadly reduced its dimensions; yet it is certainly to be discerned, with its ditch to the north, and although probably here not very large originally, yet sadly now reduced from its pristine condition.

From the back of Prior park it is lost again until you come to a public house called the Cross Keys, on the road leading from Bath to Frome and Warminster. Here, says sir R. C. Hoare, it is a "very doubtful and mysterious point. It will be seen that the Cross Keys house is placed at the head of a deep and precipitous valley leading down to the river Avon, under Mitford castle. It will be perceived that a small fragment of our dyke is visible on the south-east side of the great road, as if bearing along the east side of the valley towards the river." All traces from this point being now effaced, we have only the supposition that the dyke must have continued from Prior park to this point, crossing the fields towards Combe Down, and so through that village to the point where it is seen at the Cross Keys. From hence we follow it to where it crosses the road from Bath to Ilchester and the ancient Foss-road, at the Burnt House turnpikegate, and discern it at Breach Wood, and again at English Combe, beyond the church, where it appears in little less than its original magnitude. This is the best point to examine it from Bath, and is a spot of much beauty and historical interest, as English Combe was once the residence of the Saxon kings. Here was lately found a very fine Roman fibula. The dyke is met with again at the farm of Newton park and at Stanton Prior and Stantonbury camp.

STANTONBURY CAMP.

Stantonbury camp is the second earthwork nearest to Bath, on the line of the Wansdyke, which forms the northern boundary of the camp. The distance from Bath is about four miles; and the walk along the course of Wansdyke, through Newton park to Stantonbury, most agreeable. The camp is placed upon the summit of an elevated and insular eminence commanding a wide range of country, and capable of communicating by signal with Hampton camp and Maesknoll, Bowre Walls or Stokeleigh, as well as others more distant. Its area, like Hampton camp, is about thirty acres, surrounded by a deep ditch and rampart, but divided also into two unequal portions by a deep ditch. Along the sides of the northern rampart, formed by the Wansdyke, hut-circles are distinctly traceable. The sides of the hill have been scarped; and the entrance

at the south-eastern extremity, protected by platforms at various elevations, well adapted for slingers, which is an arrangement we find in all camps of this construction, and may be particularly remarked in that most interesting camp on Worle Hill, near Weston-super-Mare, which has been so ably described by the rev. F. Warre in the *Proceedings* of the Somersetshire Society, vol. ii, 1851.

MAESKNOLL.

Maesknoll is the third Belgic earthwork on the line of the Wansdyke, and one of peculiar interest, consisting of the extreme portion of the east end of Dundry Hill, severed from the other portion at a point where the hill narrows to about thirty-five feet, by a deep trench and a high mound. The agger rises forty-five or fifty feet above the level of the enclosure, and is twenty-five feet broad, and at the highest point slopes into the foss with a declivity of one hundred feet.

The camp is defended on three sides by the nature of the ground, being irregular in form, following the shape of the hill, which is scarped, so as to render it more precipitous, and is defended on the south and east sides by earthworks, within which is enclosed the spring which supplied water to the camp. The extent is about thirty acres; and various divisions and hut-circles may be traced within the area. Wansdyke forms the northern boundary of the camp, as at Stantonbury, from which it is distant five miles, and may be traced between the two camps, especially at Goss Farm and at Compton Dando, a little to the right of the village, and as it approaches Maesknowl. Not far from this is Belluton (written in Domesday Book, Belgeton, or the town of the Belgæ), confirming the theory that these were ancient fortresses of the Belgæ, and that Wansdyke was constructed by that people.

The word "maes" signifies battle in Celtic British and in Breton or Armorican; and Maesknowl will therefore be "battle hill". We have other words in this country compounded with "maes", as Maesbrook, Maesbury. At the former place we know a battle to have been fought, when Oswald king of Northumbria was slain by Penda king of Mercia.

On my last visit to this very remarkable camp, I observed

one feature which I have not seen mentioned by any writer on the antiquities of this county. The south face of the hill takes the form, or has been adapted to the appearance, of a spacious amphitheatre. This forms, as it were, a huge platform, which could be adopted either for purposes of religious assembly, or for the gathering of the tribes, or for defence against an enemy. The side of the hill gradually slopes to a level surface, after the manner of the sides of an amphitheatre.

Mr. Sayer, who has given a plan and description of this camp, in his *History of Bristol*, considers the mound and ditch at the eastern limit of the camp, to be a barrow or tumulus similar to others in this county, and supposes some chieftain to be buried under it; but it is evidently the eastern defence of the camp at the only point where it was not defended by the nature of the ground.

STANTON DREW.

Not far from these two camps, and most probably connected with both, is the ancient hypæthral temple of Stanton Drew, distant about a mile and a half from Maesknoll, and five miles from Stantonbury camp. These two fortresses may have been for the protection of this seat of religious worship or of judicial assemblies,—the “locus consecratus” of the Belgæ of this district, although probably older even than the settlement of the Belgæ in Britain, who, it may be, took possession of it on their coming. Probably, what Stonehenge was to the people occupying the east portion of the Belgic province—the district about Salisbury Plain—Stanton Drew was to those who occupied the western part of the Belgic province. The form of this temple (which has been supposed to take its name¹ from the Druidic rites attached to it) is that of a circle, or elliptic curve, with stone avenues issuing from it and uniting it with two smaller circles, and is supposed to be the ophite hierogram. Many of the stones have been removed; but the spot is most interesting, and well worthy of a visit. The same legend is connected with Stanton Drew as with Stonehenge, which is called the “Giant’s Dance”, and with the circle in Cornwall called “Dance

¹ See this subject treated at length in a note by J. Thurnam, M.D., in the last No. of the *Wiltshire Archaeological Journal*.

Maine" or "Dawns-Maen", *i.e.* "dance-stones".¹ The rev. W. Bathurst Deane, in his very interesting *Observations on Dracontia*,² relates that, at Carnac in Brittany, where are the remains of an avenue with its accompanying circles, (extending for no less than seven miles and a half), at an annual festival held on the day of the carnival, the villagers unite in a *general dance*, which by its figure describes accurately the ophite hieroglyph of the circle and serpent. The dancers commence in a circle, and having performed a few revolutions wheel off to the right and left, in the same manner as their temple recedes; and, I may say, as the two avenues, when perfect, receded from Stanton Drew. They call, says he, this dance, *par excellence*, "*le Bal*". Now this word may mean nothing more than the common French word *bal*, a public dancing. But it is possible that it may be the *original sacred dance of BAAL*, from whom it may take its name; which in process of time, and through change of religion and manners, became used more generally to signify a *ball* in the present acceptation of the word. *Dancing* was one of the most ordinary and most important of the idolatrous rites in all heathen religions, and the *circular dance* was preferred to all others. A tradition of this circular dancing peeps through the fables common respecting the Druidical temples in England, *viz.* that the stones were human beings petrified in the midst of a *dance*. Now all the temples to which such superstitions are attached are *circular*. May not then the *circular dance* have been the ordinary accompaniment of an ophite festival?

With respect to the name Drew, it has been contested whether the place gave name to the possessors, or the possessors to the place. The mention of *Stantum* or *Stantune* occurs in several ancient Saxon charters;² but no name *Drew* occurs. Drogo and Drew appear to be synonymous in early English; and Drogo and Dreux in Norman French. Dreux in France, near Chartres, is conjectured to be so called from the Druids, and to have been their "*locus consecratus*", or temple, "*in finibus Carnutum*". We have in England, in Devonshire, "*Drew's Teignton*", and again, "*Littleton Drew*" and "*Stanton Drew*": all, as Dr. Thurn-

¹ Borlase's *Cornwall*, p. 194.

² *Archæologia*, xxv, p. 32.

³ See Kemble's *Codex Diplom. Ævi Saxon.*, 335, 482, 502, 516.

ham observes, remarkable for their ancient British, and probably Druidical remains; and it would be a curious circumstance if each of these had been possessed by a family of the name of Drew in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Is it not more probable that the family took their name from the place where they dwelt?

WELLOW TUMULUS.

Together with the camps and places of worship, or judicial meeting, of the Belgæ or other ancient British races, must also be noticed their burial places; of which the most perfect in this kingdom, and, I believe, nearly the last, still exists at Wellow, four miles from Bath, and within the boundary of Wansdyke. This is a *chambered tumulus*, which has been carefully described by sir R. C. Hoare, *Archæologia*, vol. xix, pp. 43-48, where an accurate drawing of it and measurements made by the late Mr. Skinner of Camerton, are given. A similar chambered tumulus exists at Aveybury in Gloucestershire, and has been described by Dr. Thurnam, *Journal of Archæological Institute*, No. 44, which contains also a drawing of it. Another formerly existed in the parish of Butcombe, which is described in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and a drawing given of it there; as well as a ground plan and description of it in Sayer's *History of Bristol*. This, I regret to say, is now *totally destroyed*. Mr. Collinson and Mr. Phelps, however, have recorded it in their histories of Somerset.

The tumulus at Wellow would by this time have probably shared the same fate, had it not been discovered to have become ruined through the frost of the winter before last (1854), by two members of the Bath Naturalists' Club, who had walked over to examine it. This being represented to the Somersetshire Society by one of their members, he was empowered to have it put into its original state, so that no further damage might ensue; which has accordingly, by the permission of the owner of the property and the occupier of the farm, been done effectually. And it is hoped that this ancient record of the primitive places of sepulchre of our British forefathers may be preserved still for many generations.

The most striking monument of this kind, which still exists, is to be found at New Grange in Ireland, and has

been described by Geo. Pownall,¹ who has written so much and so well on the Roman antiquities of Bath.

The writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, who describes the chambered tumulus on Nempnet Farm, in the parish of Butcombe, supposes it to have been the burying place of the Druids, the priests of Stanton Drew, from whence it is distant four miles, lying in a still and secluded hollow. It was more probably the mausoleum of some chieftain's family, of the same period when the temple of Stanton Drew was invested with all the sanctity of early superstition.

Returning to the course of the Wansdyke, and before taking our leave of that deeply interesting earthwork, we must quote the words of sir R. C. Hoare as to its course between Maesknoll and the Severn; and refer any who would further investigate its course in this locality to Col^{le} linson's *History of Somerset*. Sir Richard says that "Mr. Collinson has described its course with such a degree of minuteness and authority that the reader would entertain no doubts of its veracity; but even with the assistance of his topographical remarks, we have, upon a personal investigation, been completely foiled." He further observes, that "Mr. Leman, who has been equally eager in the chase with himself, and his surveyor, Mr. Crocker, have minutely examined the ground, and discovered very faint, if any, existing vestiges of this mighty bulwark."

I have already observed that Mr. Leman (as appears from a manuscript note in his copy of Stukeley's *Itinerary*, which he bequeathed to the Bath Literary Institution) considered that it terminated at the two fine earthworks that overhang the perpendicular banks of the Avon, opposite to Clifton; and as no traces appear beyond, as far as I can yet ascertain, we must be content to accept this very probable conjecture until some positive proof to the contrary is brought forward.

Here, then, we will take our leave of the earthworks south of the Avon, and within a visit from Bath. It would be beyond our limit to touch upon that very interesting camp beyond Tickenham, called Cadbury camp, which was a point in the excursions of the society from Bridgwater. This camp, although communicating with Bowre Walls and Stokesleigh by a road, was not properly connected

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. ii, p. 236.

with Wansdyke. In the rampart of this camp I understand a pot of coins was some time since discovered, which have unfortunately been dispersed.

The camps and earthworks *north* of the Avon, which are not less interesting than those along the line of Wansdyke, may form the subject of another paper. They seem to have been formed as points of occupation whence the opposing tribe watched the motions of the Belgæ. They guard the other side of the valley of the Avon, and are planned with equal skill, probably by the Dobuni, whose territory this was, although we here find traces both of Roman and Saxon occupation. Leaving then Mons Badonicus and Salisbury for another occasion, we trust that Wansdyke and its earthworks will not be thought unworthy of the care and attention of future antiquaries, who may yet discover much that is left unnoticed, and draw inferences which may greatly extend the knowledge of past history.

ON THE

BANNERS OF THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY, AND
THE EARLIEST HERALDIC CHARGES.

BY GILBERT J. FRENCH, ESQ.

It is now generally admitted by archæologists that the shields represented in that invaluable specimen of early art, the BAYEUX TAPESTRY, are not to be regarded as examples of true heraldry. Although ornamented with various devices—probably symbolical—they yet appear to bear a general character, and to have no particular reference to the individuals who carry them. Thus most of the shields borne by Saxon warriors have upon them rudely drawn cross-like ornaments that in no respect resemble any of the numerous varied forms which ingenious heralds have since given to that sacred symbol; whilst upon the Norman shields the most frequently occurring ornament is a winged dragon. Subsequently, however, when heraldry had become a science, and distinctive personal bearings were generally assumed, the dragon is not to be found among the charges adopted by

the Norman nobles.¹ But if we fail to discover traces of true heraldry on the shields, the banners of the Bayeux tapestry supply indications of some early and very interesting charges. In pl. 15, Nos. 1 to 12, are figured tracings of banners which occur in the tapestry, taken from the well-known engravings published by the Society of Antiquaries, after the accurate drawings of the late Mr. C. A. Stothard.

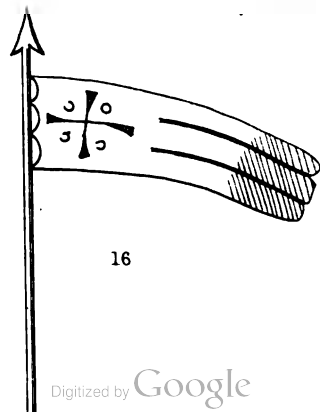
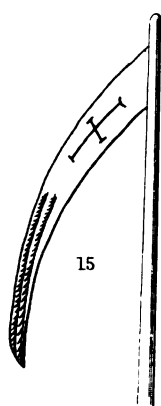
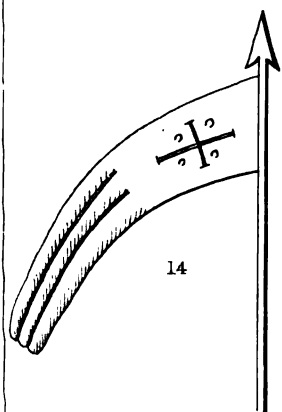
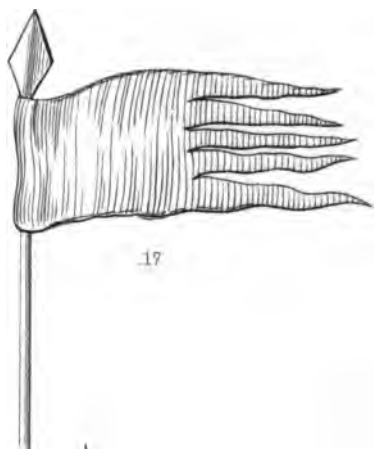
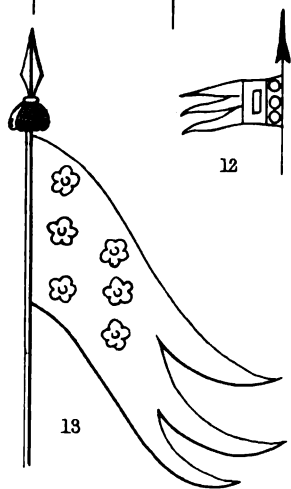
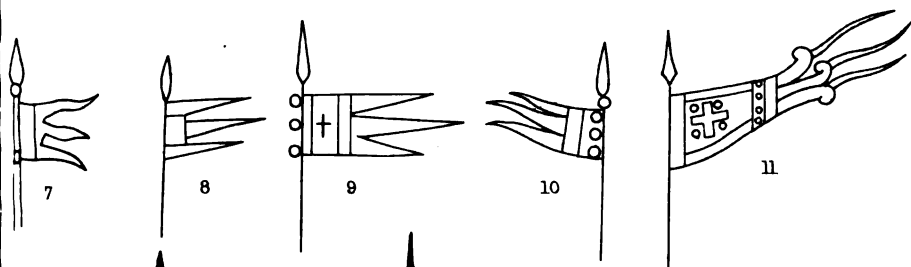
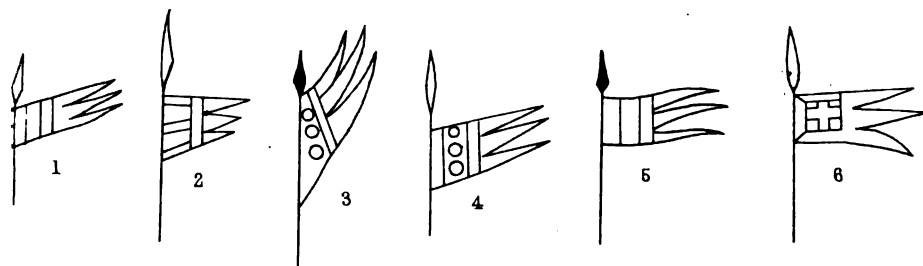
The number of the pennons carried by the Norman soldiers, figured in the entire tapestry, amounts to thirty-seven; and of these, no less than twenty-eight will be found to have their ends cut into the form of three flame-like points, or streamers. This appears to have been a very general custom with the Christian warriors of that period. Numerous examples may be met with in illuminated manuscripts, on stained glass, and more particularly on the seals of the time, among which we may refer to the great seals of William I, Henry I, and Stephen, kings of England; and Duncan II, Alexander I, David, Malcolm IV, and William the Lion, of Scotland. Plate 15, figs. 13, 14, 15, 16, represent various forms of triple pointed pennons taken from other authorities than the Bayeux tapestry; and I also exhibit impressions from early seals in which they occur.² Among these will be found examples of our Lord, under the symbolical form of *Agnus Dei*; in which, as in all early representations of the resurrection and of the descent into hell, the Saviour holds a three-pointed banner surmounted by a cross: from which circumstance it may be inferred that this military custom had been derived from a religious origin, and that it indicated a significant religious symbolism.

The peace of the Christian church was, during the first six centuries, greatly disturbed by nearly one hundred

¹ The popular boys' toy, known in England as the *kite*, is in Scotland commonly called the *dragon*.

² The seals exhibited to the Association were—

1. Great seal of Duncan, king of Scotland, A.D. 1096.
2. ——— Alexander I, king of Scotland, A.D. 1112.
3. Seal of David earl of Huntingdon, afterwards David I, A.D. 1120.
4. ——— Milo Fitzwalter, earl of Gloucester, A.D. 1130.
5. Great seal of David I, king of Scotland, A.D. 1140.
6. Seal of Saer de Quinci, first earl of Winchester, A.D. 1170.
7. ——— Walter Fitzalan (Stuart) A.D. 1170.
8. Great seal of William the Lion, king of Scotland, A.D. 1170.
9. Seal of chapter of Glasgow, A.D. 1180.
10. ——— Galfrid Pestoris, sæc. xiii.
11. ——— Aden Pastorelli, sæc. xiv.



heresies, most of them impugning, in one way or other, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. These, doubtless, assisted the rapid progress of the Moslem faith (of which a belief in the "unity of God" formed the corner-stone) and the success of the Arab arms, which, between the seventh and the tenth centuries, nearly swept Christianity from Asia and Africa, threatening also its safety in Europe. To oppose the doctrines of Mohammed, the members of the Christian church appear at this time to have adopted numerous symbols and emblems, all bearing allusion, or having reference, to the Trinity. The cross was, indeed, the acknowledged emblem of Christianity; but when it is remembered that the Moslems held our Saviour in high reverence, as the greatest of all inspired prophets before the time of Mohammed,—that they incorporated many of his benign precepts into the Korân,—were well acquainted with the events of his life, and with the manner of his death,—it may be assumed that the cross, the instrument of his martyrdom, would be a symbol much less obnoxious or objectionable to them than other Christian symbols, which, whilst demonstrating the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, struck also directly at the very foundation of the Moslem faith.

In a former paper ("On the Nimbus"), read before the Association, and printed in the *Journal*,¹ I endeavoured to shew that rays of light passing from any representations of divine or holy objects had a well understood meaning; and in particular, that three such emanations almost invariably distinguished the glories which were placed by mediæval artists around the heads of the persons of the Holy Trinity. I apprehend that the triple-pointed pennon was, in a similar spirit, adopted by the western warriors as a practical demonstration of their religious creed, in opposition to that of the followers of Mohammed, who, since the seventh century, had carried on a successful warfare under the black banner of their prophet, inscribed with the peculiar confession of their faith, "There is but one God—Mohammed is the apostle of God."

It may be urged in objection to this view, that the Bayeux tapestry represents events which were known to have occurred thirty years antecedent to the first Crusade, and

¹ Vol. x, p. 332 et seq.

therefore could bear no allusion to the circumstances of that war. It is, however, acknowledged by antiquaries of much skill and learning, that the work was probably executed several years after the occurrence of the events which it illustrates, and consequently at a time of much excitement, from the preparation for, or in the prosecution of, the first Crusade.¹ This might probably be a sufficient reason to induce the artists of the tapestry to invest the Christian knights with the characteristic attributes of a war so popular at the time among the western nations.

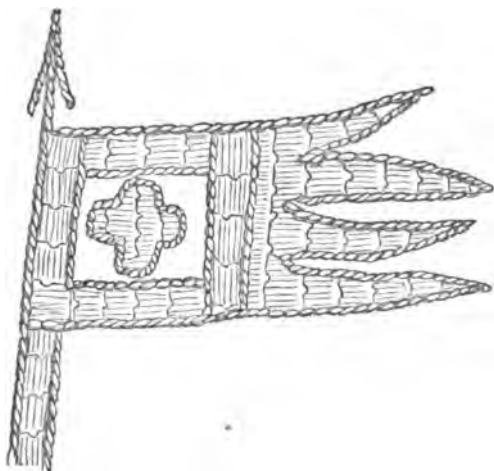
That many of the warriors of the first Crusade did really bear upon their lances three-pointed pennons, is proved by the painted glass formerly in the church of St. Denys (see pl. 15, figs. 14, 15, 16), but now unhappily destroyed. It was placed there by the abbot Segur, about 1146, during the progress of the second Crusade, the subjects represented being taken from the first of these religious wars: engravings of these had, however, been fortunately made; and to Montfaucon¹ we are indebted for the three specimens here depicted.

Whether the supposition that the pennons with their triple terminations were intended to symbolize the creed of the Christian church, be correct or otherwise, there can exist no doubt as to their having been extensively used during the time of the earlier Crusades, and that upon the subsidence of the enthusiasm for these religious wars they gradually disappeared, and their place was supplied by square banners, or by long flags terminating in swallow-tailed ends, known as standards or *guidons*. It must, however, be remarked, that pennons or flags with one, two, and even with four or more flame-like terminations, are to be met with during the period of the Crusades, and also upon the Bayeux tapestry; but these occur much less frequently than the triple-rayed pennons.

The following cut represents one of these banners with four terminations, which is to be observed always in the hand of, or near to, a figure conjectured to be that of duke William of Normandy, and is presumed to be the flag said to have been presented to him by pope Alexander before the invasion of England, in testimony of his

¹ Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France, vol. i.

assent to William's claim upon the English throne. This banner is charged with a cross within a border, and is terminated by being cut into four flame-like points very similar to the oriflamme (pl. 15, fig. 17) represented on the stained glass of Chartres cathedral, and also to another (fig. 13), from a mosaic of the eighth century, represented as being presented by St. Peter to Charles the Great. The



former of these has five, the latter three flame-like points. A rayed banner with four points, in a painting of the thirteenth century by Bruno, as held by St. Orsola, is given in tav. xii. of Giov. Rosini's *Storia della Pittura Italiana*.

Having ventured to claim for these rays the character of symbolical *nimbi*, I shall endeavour to show the probable circumstance which led to their disuse.

Assuming that they were adopted by the Christian warriors as badges of their engagement to the Crusade, it may reasonably be supposed that, upon their return from Palestine, they would detach from their banners the mark which indicated that obligation. The probability of such a practice is supported by the following well-known custom of chivalry, which obtained in this country during many centuries:—When, for any valiant exploit, a knight was advanced to the more honourable rank of banneret, the king, or his general, on the field of battle, caused the pointed ends to be cut from the knight's pennon; which thus became a square banner. The presumed change in the pennon of the returned crusader was in all respects similar when he removed the symbol of his hostility to the Saracens, now no longer appropriate, and added to the religious emblems embroidered upon the still remaining portion of his banner such other distinctive heraldic

charges as may have been adopted by, or conferred upon him.

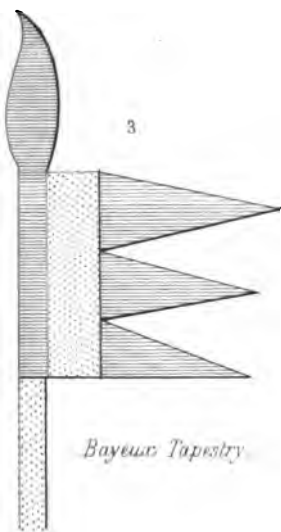
That the returned crusaders did in fact use small square banners, may be satisfactorily proved. Edmund Crouchback, earl of Lancaster, was interred in Westminster abbey, having returned from the Crusade of 1270. A tomb was erected over his body by his brother king Edward I, upon which were painted the figures of ten companions who had accompanied the earl to the east and returned with him to England. The tomb remains to this day; but the figures are now defaced. They were, however, carefully copied in the year 1783, with the colours restored, from vestiges then existing, by the accurate antiquarian artist John Carter, and engraved in his *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting in England*.¹ Each knight holds his banner, most of which will be found to have a curiously close resemblance to the pennons of the Bayeux tapestry, supposing them to be deprived of their three-rayed terminations.

I have now to direct attention to the shields of Saint-Omer, "*azure a fess or*"; and of Grentemesnil, "*gules a pale or*" (plate 16, figs. 1, 2); and request a comparison of these with two of the pennons from the Bayeux tapestry (figs. 3, 4), placed in juxtaposition. It can scarcely be doubted that they represent, in each case, corresponding objects. Both of these knights participated in the first Crusade. I do not, however, presume to suggest that they are represented in the tapestry; but it may be assumed that the fess and the pale on their respective shields have a common origin in the earlier pennon, and that the difference in these charges arises from the mode of representing it: in one example it is held horizontally, and in the other erect.

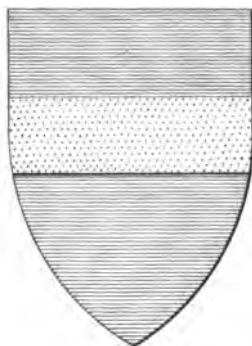
But, returning to the rays, it may be assumed that any symbol which proved that a knight had shared in the danger and glory of a Crusade would continue to be cherished as an honourable badge, though removed from the banner under which he had led his vassals in the field. I suggest that they were frequently depicted on the shield, and under a different name, became one of the earliest "honourable ordinaries" of true heraldry.

No heraldic device has been more disputed, with refer-

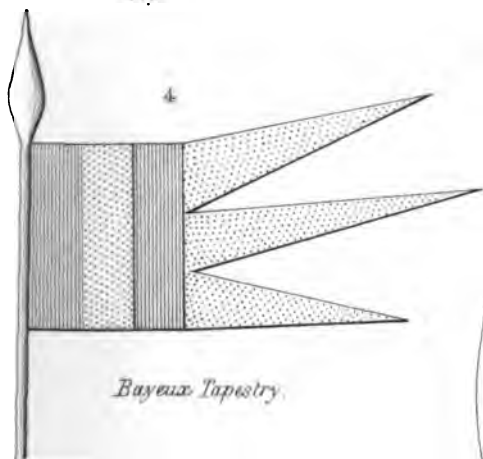
¹ Vol. i, pp. 21-23.



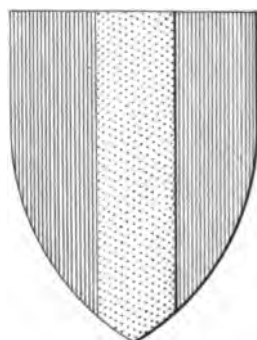
Bayeux Tapestry



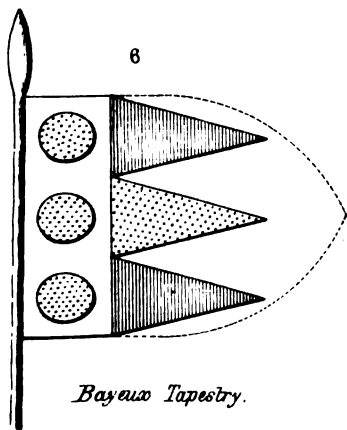
Saint Omer.



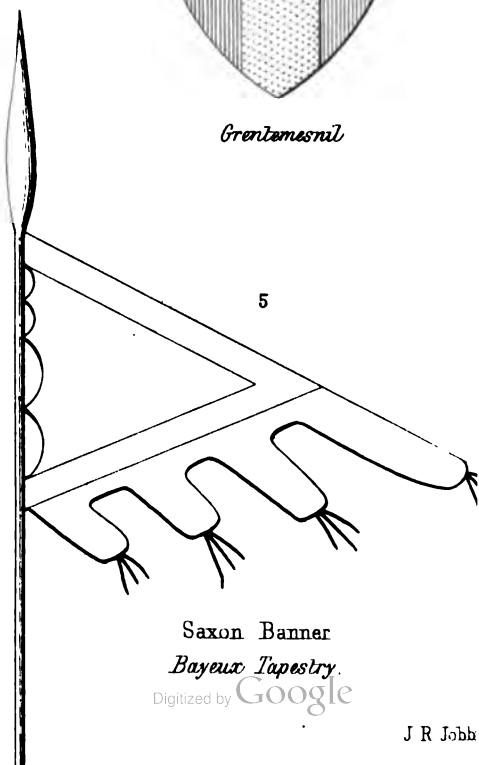
Bayeux Tapestry



Grentemesnil



Bayeux Tapestry.



Saxon Banner
Bayeux Tapestry.



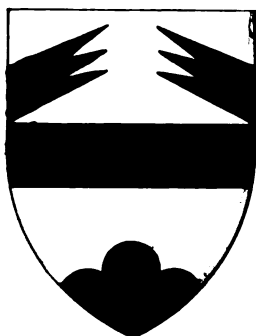
Wallington
From Burke



Waterhouse
From Guillim



Borlach
From R. Holme



Kerdell



Schinkey



Eberbach

From E. Holme



Sen Fetell



Van Hoggey



Formanshaw

From E. Holme



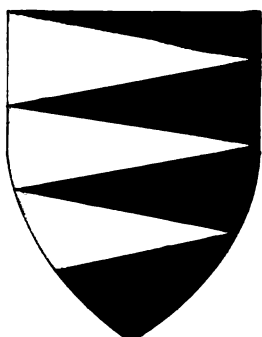
Hoflow



Proctor



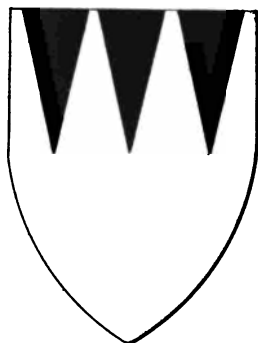
Anstruther of that Ilk



Debar

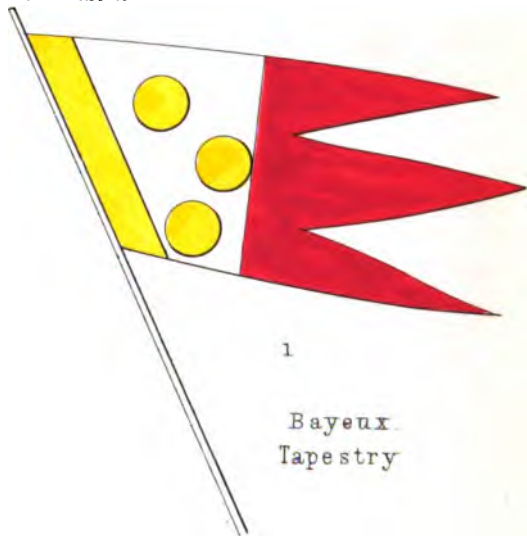
Platten.

From R. Holme



Wail

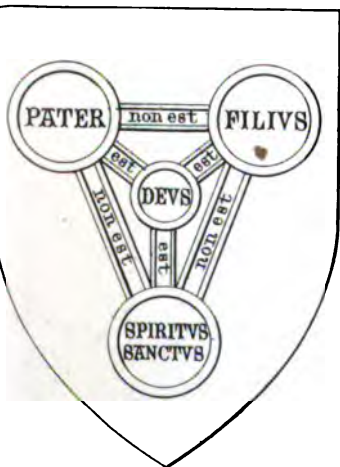
From Gwiltim



1

Bayeux
Tapestry

2



3



4

ometrical Demonstration.
of the
ctrine of the Holy Trinity.

ence to its origin and use, than the *pile*. I refrain from attempting to enumerate all the fanciful foundations which have been claimed for it; but I mention those which have been generally accepted. Guillim "took the pile to be derived from *pilum*, an ancient weapon peculiar to the Romans, shaped somewhat like a dart without feathers".¹ Mackenzie "held it to represent that engine whereby soldiers and others secured the foundations of their buildings",² though he also supposed "that when placed three together they represented the nails of our Lord's crucifixion; and he blazoned the arms of Wishart (*argent*, three passion nails, *gules*, meeting in point), because, on the authority of Spelman, the Wisharts got their name (Wiseheart) out of malice from the Saracens, whom Robert, the first of that name, did much persecute about the time of the Norman conquest." "The pile", says the editor of Guillim, "is an ancient addition to armoury, and is a thing that maketh all foundations to be firm and perfect, especially in waterworks";³ and the editor of the *Glossary of Heraldry* states it to be "an ordinary, generally representing a stake used in the construction of a military bridge". This last is the usually received modern opinion of the origin and use of the pile; but it is altogether inconsistent with numerous varieties of that ordinary borne on shields. Of these, on plates 17 and 18, we have given sixteen examples taken from Holme and other authorities:

- Plate 17. Wallington, from Burke.
 " Waterhouse, from Guillim.
 " Borlach, from Randle Holme.
 " Kerdell, ditto.
 " Schinkey, ditto.
 " Eberbach, ditto.
 " Senfetell, ditto.
 " Van Hoggey, ditto.
 " Formanshaw, ditto.
 " Hoflow, ditto.
 " Proctor, ditto.
 " Anstruther, from Guillim.
 Plate 18. ———, ⁴ from Holme.
 " Debar, ditto.
 " Platter, ditto.
 " Wail, from Guillim.

¹ Display of Heraldry; with Additions by Sir George Mackenzie, etc. Lond., 1724, fol., p. 46.

² Ibid., p. 46.

³ Ib., p. 47.

⁴ To this coat no name is given, but it is engraved in Randle Holme's *Accidence of Armorie and Blazon*, fol., Chester, 1688, book i, chap. 3, p. 20, No. 9, and described on p. 25, No. xc.

It will be noticed that, upon respectable heraldic authority, piles were borne wavy—ingrailed—with three points, and twisted or curved in all possible directions,—forms utterly inconsistent with the idea of a piece of timber intended to be driven into the ground as a foundation for a bridge or building; but all of them, as well as every other arrangement and combination of the pile which I have yet met with in heraldry, are entirely in accordance with the supposition, already advanced, that they represented the rayed pennons which the soldiers of the Crusades, after flaunting them in the faces of their pagan foes in Palestine, removed from their banners on their return from the holy wars. Whether this supposition be correct or otherwise, it is at least certain that three piles, often proceeding from a chief, is a frequently occurring charge in the arms of the ancient nobility of England and Scotland; and that these piles have a striking resemblance to the pennons carried by the Norman warriors depicted on the Bayeux tapestry.

It may be objected, that the points of these pennons could never converge in the manner most frequently met with when piles are represented on shields. But this may be readily explained. The early kite-shaped shield was sufficiently long to admit of the rays being displayed in a perpendicular direction; not so, however, the smaller heater-shaped shield of a later period, upon which it was necessary to gather the points together in the base, to enable the shield to contain the objects. That this change did take place, for this or some other reason, is proved on the authority of sir David Lindsay, who, in a heraldic manuscript, preserved in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, represents both arrangements in the arms of the same family. On the shield of "Erskyn lord of Brechine", the piles converge to the base; and on that of the "lord of Brechane *of auld*", i.e., as anciently borne, the piles are placed perpendicularly. In the same interesting manuscript, and nearly at the end of the volume (which bears the date of 1542), are the arms of John Young, the ancestor of a distinguished existing family. The arms of Young are blazoned, *argent*, three piles *sable*, on a chief of the first, as many annulets of the second. This charge bears so close and curious a

resemblance to the three-rayed banners of the Bayeux tapestry, that it becomes interesting to trace its origin. The first of the family I have been enabled to find mentioned, was John Young, a burgess of Edinburgh, who, in 1541, married Margaret Scrymgeour, of the ancient and noble house of that name. Her father, Scrymgeour of Glasswell, was the descendant of an immediate branch of the Scrymgeours of Didupe, who were, in 1057, created hereditary standard bearers to the kings of Scotland, by Alexander I, and afterwards became earls of Dundee. It is quite reasonable to suppose that the worthy burgess would, on his marriage with a lady of so distinguished a family, apply for, and obtain a grant of, arms; and in doing so embrace the opportunity of paying a graceful compliment to his wife; which he appears to have done by adopting the standard borne by her ancestors as the charge on his armorial shield. This may have been done at the suggestion of the poetical lyon king-of-arms, sir David Lindsay of the Mount. The intention was, doubtless, to perpetuate the memory of the honourable office which had been held by Young's wife's ancestors.¹ On plate 16, fig. 6, is represented the most common form of pennon from the Bayeux tapestry, which may be compared with the preceding cut of the arms of Young.



In English examples of early banners, they are, for the most part, cut into sharp pointed ends, exactly corresponding with the piles in English and Scottish heraldry. But the French pennons of the same time, though likewise divided into three, had usually more obtuse terminations, of which examples may be seen on plate 15, figs. 14, 15, 16, previously referred to. This is particularly the case in the instance of the gonfanon of the noble house of d'Auvergne, which corresponds in form with the usual arrangement of the pile in French heraldry, of which an example is exhibited in the arms of the compte de Briey (see plate 19, fig. 6). But a still more remarkable proof that the piles of heraldry are identical with the points of ancient

¹ The descendants of this family have been distinguished by learning and valour. One of these, the gallant sir W. Young, of the 23rd regt., fell on the heights of Alma.

pennons, is the correspondence of the arms of Norton (“*or*, a pile triple-pointed flory *sable*, issuing from the dexter chief bendways”) with the pennon on the seal of *Milo de Gloucester*, created earl of Hereford in 1140. (Plate 19, fig. 5.) It will be noticed that the points of the pennon have a triple tie, nearly coinciding with the *fleur-de-lys* ends of the Norton triple pile.

I must not omit to call attention to the fact that the field of the shields on which piles occur as a charge, are for the most *or* or *argent*, while the piles are of some heraldic tincture; this would be the natural arrangement in representing the textile fabric of the pennon points upon the bright metal shields.

In concluding the subject of triple-pointed banners, it may be remarked that they occur on the Trajan column and on the arch of Titus at Rome. (See plate 19, figs. 1, 2.) It is said that these represent the banners carried by barbarians. Whether or not they may also have been Christians, I do not venture to conjecture; but the coincidence is sufficiently curious to be worthy of notice.

Six of the three-pointed banners of the Bayeux tapestry have very distinctly marked upon them three circles, rings, or balls; and similar rings may be seen on the pennon carried by king Henry I on his great seal. It is impossible to believe that these were accidental ornaments, particularly as they occur very frequently on Christian coins, implements, and drinking vessels. I am disposed to claim for them a religious symbolism; and further, I believe them to be the origin of a very popular and much used heraldic charge. It is, however, necessary carefully to distinguish these three circles from rings used by the Anglo-Saxons to attach their banners to the supporting lances: particularly since these rings, or corresponding loops, are also mostly three in number.

In my previous paper upon “The Nimbus”, already referred to, I endeavoured to shew that a circle constituted a well understood symbol of eternity long before the introduction of Christianity, and that pagan deities were often represented crowned with such circles or glories, as the usual attributes of divinity.¹ The practice was continued by the early Christians, who adopted, probably from politic

¹ See Montfaucon, *Antiq. Expliquée*.



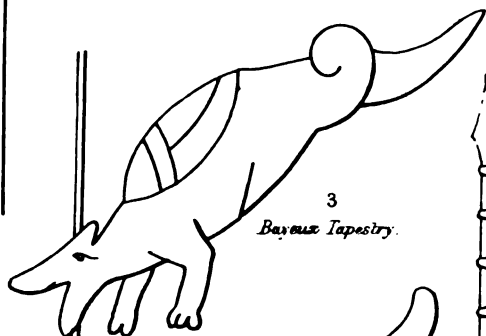
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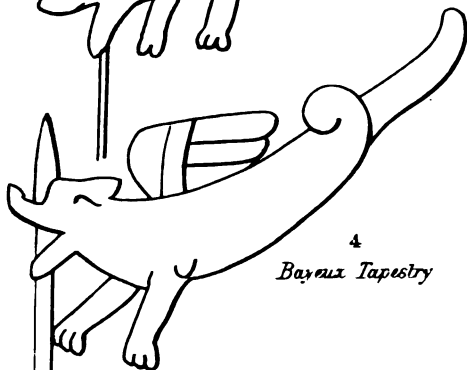
2

From the Arch of Titus



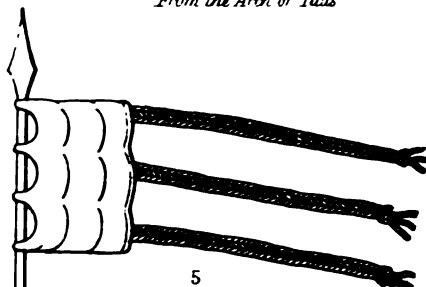
3

Bayeux Tapestry



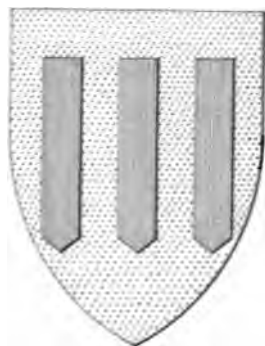
4

Bayeux Tapestry



5

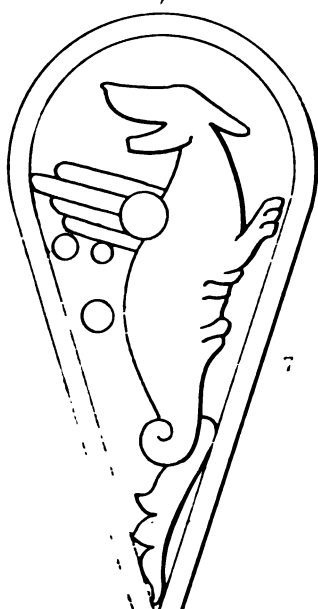
From the Seal of Milo de Gloucester about 1140



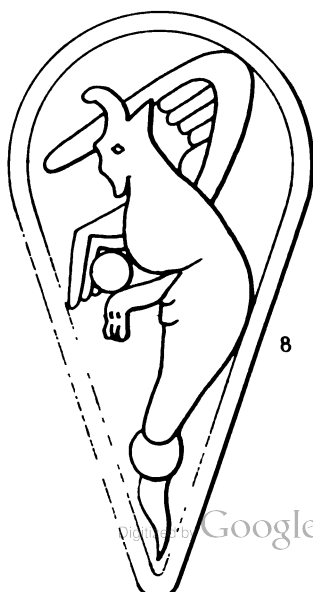
6

Comte de Br.

Bayeux Tapestry



7



8

motives, many customs of pagan worship which were in themselves unobjectionable. A medal of the emperor Constantine¹ represents the religious emblems of his particular epoch. The banner of the cross piercing the body of the serpent, and surmounted with the monogram of Christ, with the motto *SPES PUBLICA*, expresses the hope of the Christian world from the conversion of the emperor. Upon the banner which hangs from the cross three circles are distinctly marked, which closely corre-



spond with those on the banners of the Bayeux tapestry, and with numerous examples of the eleventh century. All the other objects upon this medallion of Constantine having a distinctly symbolical meaning, it may be assumed that such also was the case with the three circles. We are informed that, during the reign of that emperor, "the authority of a general council, to which the Arians themselves had been compelled to submit, inscribed on the banners of the orthodox party the mysterious characters of the word *homoousion*, which essentially contributed "to maintain and perpetuate the uniformity of faith, or at least of language".² That the three equal circles which appear on the banner of the medallion are intended to represent the mysterious characters of the word "*homoousion*", is more than I dare venture to assert; but it is certain that the meaning of that word, which is "*having the same essence*", or "*consubstantial, having the same substance*", is very fairly expressed by this symbolism. It is to be remembered that Constantine, though tolerant of, and liberal to, the Christians, "persevered till he was near forty years of age in the practice of the established (pagan) religion: his liberality restored and enriched the temples of the gods: the medals which issued from his imperial mint are impressed with the figures of Jupiter and Apollo, of Mars and Hercules; and his filial piety increased the council of Olympus by the apotheosis of his father Constantius."³

¹ The reverse represented in the woodcut is taken from the *Storia dell' Arte* of Seroux d'Agincourt, tom. ii, plate XLVIII.

² Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. xxi. ³ Ibid.

As it may be objected that Constantine was not always a Trinitarian, since his persecution of Athanasius is a well known and received historical fact, it may be proper to state, on the authority of Gibbon, that "the Nicene creed was ratified by Constantine . . . Arius was banished into one of the remote provinces of Illyricum; his person and disciples were branded by law with the odious name of Porphyrians; his writings were condemned to the flames, and a capital punishment was denounced against those in whose possession they should be found."¹ It is certain, therefore, that at *one*—probably an early—period of his reign, the emperor favoured and patronized, if he did not himself adopt, the Trinitarian doctrine. His respect for the ancient pagan customs of his ancestors would naturally induce the use of the symbols which they had employed to indicate the divinity of their mythological gods, as the fittest and best understood emblem of the Triune Deity of orthodox Christianity.

I am not prepared to insist that this symbolism of Constantine's time was handed down through seven centuries to be used by the Norman conquerors of England, though I regard such as by no means an improbable circumstance: at all events, reasonable proof can be offered that the symbolical meaning which I have claimed for the circles on the banner of the Constantine medallion, is at least equally applicable to those on the pennons of the Bayeux tapestry. There the circles are, for the most part, represented in a line parallel with the lance of the pennon, but not always close to it. When transferred to a shield, they usually occupied that portion of it called the chief; but they also frequently occur in fess and in bend. In one instance (plate 18, fig. 1) only, a different arrangement of these circles may be met with on the tapestry. They are placed two and one, forming an irregular triangle. This was a favourite mode of representing, upon shields, all objects which occurred in triplets, and was probably adopted from its convenience in filling up the space to be covered.

In further proof that the three circles were intended to symbolize the Holy Trinity, a frequently occurring mediæval device is exhibited (plate 18, fig. 2), in which they

¹ Chap. xxi.

are employed to demonstrate that doctrine.¹ The circles are respectively *marked* "Pater", "Filius", and "Spiritus Sanctus"; a fourth circle, placed in the centre, is inscribed "Deus". These are connected by a double set of labels, one set marked with the words "non est", the other with the word "est": the entire arrangement being intended to develop the mystery of Trinitarian doctrine to the understanding of uneducated people. Such a device was displayed upon a banner in the army of Henry V when he fought the famous battle of Agincourt. His troops, in that celebrated campaign, appear to have been placed under the special protection of the Holy Trinity, since a poet of the period writes that, on their embarkation,

"The wynde was goode, and blew but softe,
And fourth they went in the name of the TRYNYTE."

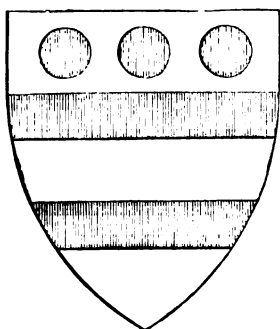
But this holy patronage was invoked for other purposes besides that of war: the ancient banker and the modern pawnbroker have conducted their occupations under the protecting sign of three balls, while the purses, almoniers, and pockets, in which men of mediæval times were wont to carry their treasures, were very generally ornamented with three similar balls of metal, which, at a later period, displayed themselves under the form of tassels.

To these circular ornaments the heraldic writers of the seventeenth century have applied various names, according to their metals or tinctures, attributing to them fanciful and unauthorized origins and meanings which have entirely supplanted the simple and religious idea which they at first expressed. The great number of families bearing this favourite ancient charge on their shields of arms, compelled, first, a change into every heraldic metal and colour, under the names of bezants, plates, pomées, hurts, pellets, golps, oranges, guzes, ogresses, tarteauxes, wastals, wells, and whirlpools; and subsequently these were probably modified in form, and became crescents, roses, mullets, cinquefoils, estoiles, escallop shells, and other heraldic devices,—not greatly differing in form from the circle,—which are

¹ In Carter's *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting* (vol. ii, p. 46) is an account of a brass of John de Campden, in the church of the hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester, upon which an illustration of this arrangement of the Trinity is observable on a shield, as if adopted for his arms, described by the rev. Mr. Milner.

known to have been adopted amongst the earliest heraldic charges, and all of which may owe their origin to the three circles which the Norman invaders displayed on their pennons; or, it may be, to the much earlier mysterious device on the labarum of Constantine the Great.

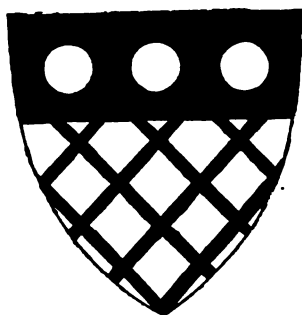
It is well known that the religious heraldry peculiar to the time of the earlier Crusades gradually merged into heraldry of a personal character; and this appears to have been effected chiefly by the addition of bearings allusive to the eastern war, without, however, displacing the crosses, fesses, bars, or circles, which distinguished such banners as are figured on the Bayeux tapestry. These religious bearings are still retained on the arms of many English and French families, whose ancestors are known to have participated in the honours of the earlier Crusades, and are exemplified by the shields of Wake (fig. A), Dawney (fig. B), Hugh de St. Amand (fig. C), and Richard de Grey (fig. D).



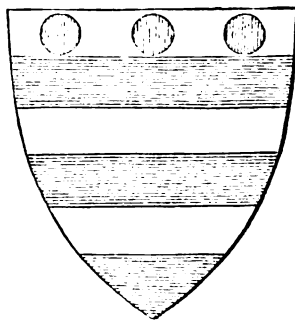
A. Baldwin de Wake.



B. Dawney.



C. Hugh de St. Amand.



D. Richard de Grey.

I now solicit attention to the two objects represented on the Bayeux tapestry, which have obtained the name of Saxon standards. Two winged dragons (plate 19, figs. 3, 4), exactly corresponding in form, size, and colour, with those on the Norman shields (figs. 7 and 8), are held by two Saxon warriors on the points of their spears, which pass through the heads of the animals. They certainly, in a great measure, resemble the ancient dragon banners of the Dacians, which were adopted by the Roman armies; and this may have led to the supposition that they also are banners. But it is remarkable that one of these so called banners, if elevated on the spear which transfixes it, would be displayed reversed, or back downwards,—a most improbable position for a banner. This circumstance, together with the fact that there is no other known example of a British flag *cut out to the form of the animal represented*, induces me to suggest that the intention of the artists was to shew the valour of Harold and his immediate companions, by those ornaments which, with their lances, they have torn from the shields of their Norman enemies; and this is the more probable as these dragon-shaped ornaments appear to be in relief, and attached to the shields by studs of metal.

There is yet another banner, which has not, I apprehend, hitherto received the attention it deserves. It is represented (see plate 16, fig. 5) falling to the ground, from the hands of a Saxon warrior transfixed by the spear of a Norman horseman, and is the sole banner of the Saxon army, supposing the dragon-shaped objects already noticed to be the ornaments of shields, and not banners. It falls at the particular time and place that the tide of battle turned against the Saxons; for there Gurth and Leofwin, Harold's brothers, are both slain. This banner is triangular in form: from one side four streamers proceed, each of which is terminated with a triple tuft. Excepting that it has no ornament in its field, it resembles, in all other respects, the banner on the coins of the Anglo-Danish king Anlaf, or Olaf, minted in England (see plate 18, figs. 3,¹ 4); but the banner on these coins had a cross

¹ This coin is figured by Speed in his *History of England*, p. 53; and also by Worsaae in the *Danes in England*, p. 53. The other coin (fig. 4) is of Knut, or Canute, and is likewise figured by Worsaae, p. 53.

within the triangle. Examples are here exhibited of a Spanish¹ (fig. 1), a French² (fig. 2), and an English³ (fig. 3),

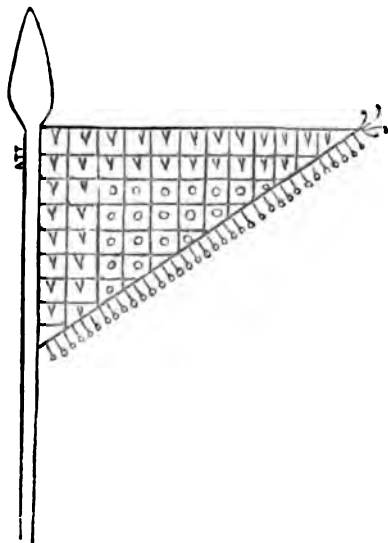


Fig. 1. Spanish



Fig. 2. French.

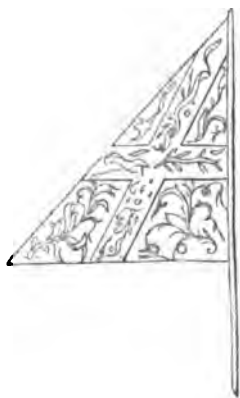


Fig. 3. English.

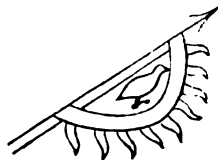


Fig. 4. Danish.

triangular banner; the French representing the Holy Spirit as a nimbed dove descending from heaven to earth.

¹ Spanish standard taken from a M.S., A.D. 1109, figured by Shaw, and also in Planché's *Pursuivant of Arms*, p. 62.

² French. This is given from a French miniature of the fifteenth century, and has been engraved in Didron's *Iconographie Chrétienne*, p. 461.

³ English. A triangular banner taken from a mural painting formerly in the chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster.

The last banner of the Bayeux tapestry which I desire to bring under your notice, represents a bird within a semi-circle of rays (fig. 4). This has been usually called a Danish war-flag, and the bird supposed to be the raven, sacred to Odin, the principal god of the Scandinavian nations before their conversion to Christianity. I claim for this banner another name and a very different meaning:—

The Danes had, long before the conquest of England by the Normans, adopted Christian insignia on their banners, as has been already shewn by the cross on the coin of Anlaf: it is, therefore, improbable that they should display as a national banner any emblem of their former idolatry, particularly in the eminently religious army of duke William; still less, that such a banner should be associated with the flag bearing a cross, presented by the pope to the duke, which, on the tapestry, immediately follows that with the bird.

Speed, who appears to have consulted the best available authorities, informs us that the duke of Normandy, “with three hundred ships fraught full of his Normans, Flemings, Frenchmen, and Britaignes, weighed anchor”. In this list there is no mention of Danes or Norwegians; and there is good reason for supposing that no soldiers of the Scandinavian nations were present in the army of the Conqueror. The strength of these nations had invaded England in the north, and been subdued in a sanguinary and decisive battle only four days before the duke of Normandy landed at Hastings. The probability, therefore, is, that neither Dane nor Danish banner would be found in the Norman army.

Herr Worsaae¹ adopts the opinion that the bird banner of the Bayeux tapestry is the *danbrog*, or war-flag, of the Scandinavian Vikings; and states that “an old chronicle (Emma’s *Encomiast*) relates that, in the time of peace, no image whatever was seen in the flag (or mark) of the Danes; but in the time of war there waved a raven in it, from whose movements the Danes took auguries of victory or defeat. If it fluttered its wings, Odin gave them a sign of conquest; but if the wings hung slackly down, victory would certainly desert them.” Again, referring to the *danbrog*, Worsaae adds: “What colours were used can

¹ The Danes in England, p. 57.

now hardly be decided There can be no doubt that the ground was often red It is, perhaps, therefore most probable that the banners (or marks) of the ancient Danes were, in times of peace, of a light colour ; but in war time of a blood colour, with a black raven on a red ground."¹ This opinion is entitled to the highest respect ; but it is entirely against the supposition that the flag of the tapestry represents the raven of Denmark, since, after the lapse of six hundred years, the bird remains of a pale blue colour upon a field of what appears to have been white, or some very light tint : and it is represented with closed wings, in an attitude as completely peaceful and dovelike as can well be imagined. There is, therefore, no great hazard in expressing a belief that this singular and interesting banner bears a dove, the symbol of the Holy Spirit, within a nimbus of rays.

Having, in this paper, claimed for some of the earliest heraldic charges an origin and meaning differing from those usually ascribed to them by heraldic writers, I nevertheless present my opinions on the subject with considerable diffidence. I do not assume to have determined any of the positions which I have ventured to advance : they are, however, singularly suggestive ; and it is hoped that they may induce inquiry into the subject by other associates who enjoy better opportunities for investigating it, and possess more extended means of observation than fall to the lot of the writer.

ON MEDÆVAL VESSELS IN THE FORM OF EQUESTRIAN KNIGHTS.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

IN June 1856 our associate, Dr. James Kendrick of Warrington, favoured us with the exhibition of a rare mediæval relic, representing a knight

——“sheathed in steel,
With belted sword, and spur on heel,”

¹ The Danes in England, p. 61.

which had been presented to him by the rev. E. F. Parsons, incumbent of Whitley, Cheshire, in whose family it had been long treasured, and was last brought from Worcestershire. This curious object is represented in the accompanying plate (pl. 20, fig. 1), and is thus mentioned and described by Dr. Kendrick :

"It had been commonly regarded as a child's toy; but when it came under my notice was doing duty as a door-weight in the entrance hall. It is a hollow brass casting, without any apparent soldering of its parts, except where the body of the rider has, at some time, been rudely fractured. It is ten inches in height, and the same in length, and weighs four pounds and three quarters. It does not appear to have been at any time fixed upon a stand, or to have had any accessories, except a sword in the right hand of the knight, which is now lost. I assume this, as the scabbard is empty. In the chest of the horse is a round opening, from which a metal pipe extends an inch and a quarter into the body of the horse. On the head of the horse, commencing between the ears, is a triangular opening, an inch and a quarter in length, and half an inch in breadth at the widest end, which is exactly between the ears. The opening has evidently, at one time, been closed by a well-fitted lid, of which the hinge alone now remains. The mane of the horse is represented as growing only half way down its neck; and it is not improbable that, at an early period of English chivalric history, the lower part of the mane of the war horse was invariably cropped or shaven, to avoid any interference of the flowing hair with the bridle-hand whilst holding the rein. I do not remember to have seen this peculiarity noticed heretofore. The tail, too, is very singularly contorted, its end being passed through the upper part in a very curious fashion. The knight wears a coat of chain armour, with small elbow and knee-pieces, and gauntlets. Over the body is a tight-fitting plain surcoat, with deeply scalloped edge at the hips. The helmet is globular, with an oval opening for the face. The coat of mail is distinctly seen between the lower part of the helmet and upper edge of the surcoat, and also at the arm-holes of the latter. The spurs have very large rowels; and the scabbard tapers gradually from the opening to the point. The sword-belt passes under the surcoat, and appears to have depended from the hips. The saddle is raised before and also behind, like the back of an arm-chair."

To the foregoing communication I beg to append a few brief remarks. The specimen brought under our notice belongs to a highly curious class of vessels, of which few examples now exist; most, if not all, of which are referrible to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and were unquestionably designed to hold liquids, and were not mere

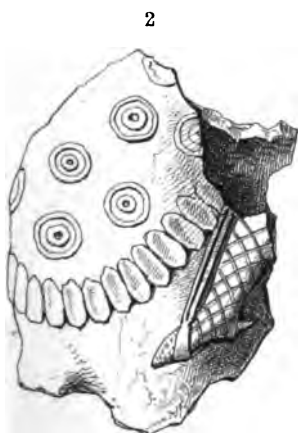
ornaments, toys, or æolophiles,¹ as some have imagined. They have been called ewers and decanters; but their appropriate title is still a *desideratum*. The earliest are formed of terra-cotta of a bright red colour, either wholly or partially covered with a deep green glaze. They are of a rather rude fabric, and rarely if ever found in a perfect state: indeed, earthen vessels in the form of equestrian knights are so exceedingly scarce that few examples are known either in an entire or a fractured condition. I embrace this opportunity to exhibit the remains of one of these vessels of green glazed ware (pl. 20, fig. 2), which was exhumed from beneath the foundation of the old King's Arms, Leadenhall-street, Sept. 7, 1846. When perfect it represented a figure encased in *mascléd armour*, the body covered with a tunic, and the heel accoutred with a sessile "pryck spur". The lower part of the shaft of the gonfanon, which rested on the right foot of the knight, is still apparent. The chest of the horse would seem to be protected with a breastplate, or sort of *picriere*, consisting of several large annular bosses, with a festoon of oval plates beneath them. The date of this rare fragment is certainly not later than the first half of the twelfth century, and may be safely assigned to the reign of Henry I.² The late Mr. Crofton Croker possessed some portions of this vessel, and often promised to give them to me,—a promise which, I much regret to add, was never fulfilled.

A vessel of the same description as the foregoing was discovered at Lewes in 1846, and engraved in the *Journal* (vol. ii, p. 343). It is here reproduced for the sake of comparison (see woodcut annexed). The figure has the flowing beard, long-toed chausses, and pryck-spur of the early part of the twelfth century. It is ten inches high, and eleven inches and a half long, and is stated to hold about a quart, the liquid being introduced at



¹ See remarks on æolophiles, by Dr. W. Bell, in the *Journal*, vol. vi, pp. 344-346, being an abstract of a paper on the subject read at the Manchester Congress, where the matter was discussed.

² I have seen a fragment of a figure which formed part of a vessel of the





the crupper of the horse, and discharged through its mouth. A handle springs from the shoulders of the rider, and rests on the hind quarters of the steed. It has been covered with coarse green glaze, of which only a portion now remains.

In the latter half of the twelfth century, vessels of this description, of bronze, or rather brass, began to make their appearance. An exceedingly curious example of this period is given in plate 20, fig. 3, and is copied from the *Mirror*, (ix, 288), where it is stated to be about twenty inches high, and nearly twelve pounds weight. In this instance the knight wears a barrel-shaped helmet, the *ocularium* being cut in the cruciformed bar on its front. The throat and arms of the figure are covered with scale-mail, the chausses being of chain; and over the armour is a tunic belted round the waist. In the right hand is a lance, and the left holds the horse's bridle: the spurs are of the pryk kind. The top of the helmet (now lost) constituted the cover of the vessel, a small pipe between the eyes of the horse being the spout.

Our next example (pl. 21, fig. 1) is taken from Worsaae's *Afbildninger af Danske Oldsager* (pl. 114, fig. 406), and is of the same age as the above, and closely resembles it in general character. The knight's helmet is, however, rather more angular in form than the last, and the lower part is perforated with air-holes; and the tunic, instead of covering the hauberk, is seen beneath it. The tubular spout projects from the forehead of the horse, and looks like the truncated horn of an unicorn. This specimen is about fourteen inches and three-quarters high.

Another example of these curious brazen vessels may be seen in the British Museum. The knight has the angular barrel-shaped helmet with perforations for air, beneath which appears the broad tippet of the coiffe-de-mailles. The chain hauberk is visible on the limbs, and the body is clothed in a tunic graven with a trellis pattern. The left hand of the figure grasps the bridle-rein; and the right has held either a sword or lance, now broken away. The top of the helmet served as a cover for the vessel, and

same age as the above, in which the knight's chapelle-de-fer was of a conic form, like those exhibited on the seals of William Rufus, and Milo Fitzwalter, governor of Gloucester (temp. Henry I).

the tubular spout projects from the forehead of the steed. This specimen is said to have been found in the river Tyne, Northumberland, and is represented in pl. 21, fig. 2.

From Labarte's *Illustrated Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages* we learn that the collection of Mons. Carrand contains two examples of this description. They are described as ewers, and represent, one, a knight seated upon a war horse, and covered with the mail armour of the warriors of the thirteenth century, his head being protected by a helmet of great elegance; the other, an equestrian figure of the young Conradin, the unfortunate competitor of Charles of Anjou. In this instance, the head of the prince is bare, but encircled with a crown of flowers, like that seen upon the representations of the martyrs by the Italians of the middle ages; whilst the body of the prince is encased in the armour of the time. M. Labarte says these bronzes are cast and chased, and that they must not be confounded with the productions of the brazier, which were obtained by the process of hammering out. (p. 398.)

Dr. Kendrick's vessel differs in several particulars from all the examples now cited. It is filled at the head of the horse instead of through the helmet of the knight; and the spout is not on the forehead, but the breast of the animal, and was probably closed with a stopple, or it may have had a cock attached to it, like to a specimen I had an opportunity of examining a few years back. In the other brazen examples, the faces of the knights are concealed by barrel-formed helmets; in this, the features are seen through the oval opening of the globose chapelle-de-fer. The other peculiarities are to be found in the gauntlets, coutes, and genouillieres, which protect the hands, elbows, and knees; the short, close-fitting surcoat, and the exchange of the pryck for the rowel spur. These marked features in the knightly harness enable us to assign the date of this specimen to the end of the twelfth or the early part of the thirteenth century, at which period these singular vessels seem to have gone out of fashion.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 70.)

FRIDAY, AUGUST 29, 1856.

ARRANGEMENTS were made to proceed from Bridgwater, to reach Bath at 11 A.M., where the officers and members of the Royal Bath Literary and Scientific Institution were assembled to greet the arrival of the members of the Association. A most courteous reception was given by J. H. Markland, esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., the rev. H. M. Scarth, and others of the committee; and the meeting was strengthened by the attendance of the members of parliament for the city, several of the clergy, and the municipal officers. The library of the museum being filled, Dr. Markland took the chair, and welcomed the Association in an elegant address. (See pp. 81-97 *ante*.)

Upon the conclusion of Dr. Markland's paper, Mr. Pettigrew observed that, before they proceeded to the business of the day, he should be doing injustice to his own feelings, and be a neglectful representative of the Association, were he not to embrace the first moment to return their sincere thanks to his old and esteemed friend, Dr. Markland, for the eloquent and learned address he had just delivered. The nature and research of that address was not to him a matter of surprise, for he had had the happiness to know Dr. Markland for a very long period, and he rejoiced to have had another opportunity of witnessing that happy union and that blending of knowledge, ability, and eloquent literature, with a true taste and ardent spirit for antiquarian research, which had always distinguished that learned gentleman. Having expressed the thanks of the Association to the members of the Bath Institution, for permission to assemble under their roof (than which a more suitable place could not be found), Mr. Pettigrew took the chair vacated by Dr. Markland, and called upon the rev. H. M. Scarth to read his paper, "On the Roman Antiquities of Bath", which will be printed and illustrated in the *Journal*.

Mr. C. E. Davis, F.S.A., hon. local secretary, afterwards read the following paper

"ON THE CHURCHES OF BATH.

"Before the period of the Reformation there were no less than eighteen churches and chapels in the area comprised within the present city and

borough of Bath. St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Mary de Stall, St. Mary-*intra-Muros*, St. Mary-*extra-Muros*, St. Michael-*intra-Muros*, St. Michael-*extra-Muros*, St. James, St. Werborough, or St. Werburgh, St. John's and St. Michael, St. James on the south-east rampart, St. Winifred, St. Lawrence, or St. Catherine's, on the bridge, St. Helen's, St. Swithin's, or Walcot, St. Mary, or Bathwick, the Magdalen chapel in Holloway, St. Thomas à Becket, or Widcombe. Of these, eleven have now fallen into decay, leaving, with, I believe, the exception of St. Mary de Stall, no vestige of their existence, and little else to rely upon as evidence of their exact locality, except that which is traditional.

"WIDCOMBE (variously written Widcomb, Byncombe, Odecombe, etc., till the last few years) was united with Lyncombe. The site of this little church is still pointed out in the vale of Lyncombe. It stood to the north of the ancient Wells road, which went through that vale, and immediately opposite a field that had been evidently a Roman pottery field. Widcombe church is dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket, and was built either by William Bird, the last prior but one of Bath, or during his time, between the years 1499 and 1525. The general style of the church is Perpendicular, as its date at once testifies; but it has been sadly mutilated in later times. The tower, of three stages, is square, battlemented, with an octagular turret, and contained, until the year 1847, a peal of six bells, which were then removed to the new church at the bottom of Widcombe Hill, and replaced by a small bell, which formerly belonged to a chapel in the Dolmeads. The nave is short, and separated from a modern chancel and vestry-room by a late Perpendicular paneled arch. The interior is open to the tower; and although filled up with ugly pews, and by a still worse gallery, pulpit, and reading-desk, it yet possesses the picturesque characteristics of a village church. On the walls are a few monuments of some interest; and over the chancel arch are the arms of Charles II, bearing the date of the Act of Uniformity. The church is entered by a small porch; and as the building is mantled with ivy, and the churchyard filled with grey tombs and clustering roses, it presents a singularly beautiful *coup d'œil* viewed through the entrance gates.

"In the parish of Widcombe is another church, in Holloway, in the old road, commonly called the Foss-road, under Beechen Cliff, formerly one of the principal entrances into Bath from the west. Leland¹ entered the city by this road. He says: "I cam downe by a rokky hill fulle of faire springes of water; and on this rokky hill is sette a longe streete, as a suburbe to the city of Bath, and in this streete is a chapelle of St. Mary Magdalen." I find *Holewyge*, in the manor of Lyncombe, mentioned as containing houses in the fifth year of the reign of Richard II (1381).

"This chapel was given to the monastery by Walter Hosate, upon

¹ Itiner., v. ii.

condition that the monks should repair and raise the said chapel; and in 1332 an indulgence of twenty days was granted to the benefactors thereto. The present church, repaired in 1760, and enlarged by the addition of a chancel in the years 1823 and 1824, is a small building, erected by John Cantlow, prior of Bath, between the years 1489 and 1499, with a small battlemented turret, for a bell, at the west end; and a south porch, in which is the following incised inscription,—

Thys . chapel . florgschd . w . formosyt . spectabll .
 In . the . honoure . of . M . Magdalen . prior . Cantlow . hath . brydte .
 Desyring . god . to . pray . for . hym . w . gode . p'p'ers . delectabll .
 That . sche . will . inhabyt . hym . in . heven . ther . bryr . to . abyde .

“The interior is lighted by three square-headed Perpendicular windows, and by the original eastern two-centred window, which now lights the church in connexion with two three-light windows, erected with a vain desire of resembling the original windows in the body of the church. The ceiling is circular, or waggon-headed, with small ribs and bosses. On the walls of the chancel, and on the exterior and interior of the porch, are the remains of five tabernacles; and although they are much mutilated, enough yet remains to enable the restorer to reestablish them. Of these, four are of most beautiful design, backed by very good tracery; but the fifth is of too late a date to be entirely good, but still presents some good points. One of these tabernacles was originally on each side of the east window. In the western window are the remains of stained glass, containing two figures of monks, the head of St. Bartholomew, some small spandrils, and the head of the Virgin. Formerly there were the full length figures of the Blessed Virgin with the infant Saviour in her arms, and underneath the words *Scā Maria*; two figures of monks bearing croziers, a large representation of the crucifixion, a large figure of St. Bartholomew with his name, and a figure of St. Mary Magdalene. But this chapel being shut up for many years, and admission given indiscriminately to all applicants, much of the stained glass was taken away. To the west of the porch is a very fine specimen of the Judas tree (*cercis siliquastrum*), a standard, measuring round, at about three feet from the ground, sixty-eight inches.

“The adjoining parish to Widcombe is Bathwick; the old church being dedicated to St. Mary, founded previously to 1292, in which year it was valued at twelve marks. It stood near Rochford-place, now occupied by the road leading to Sydney bridge. It was removed in 1818, was of small size, being only sixty-four feet in length, with a tower at the west end thirty-four feet high. The river Avon separates these parishes from the former city of Bath; and all the bridges, with the exception of the old bridge, are comparatively of a recent date. This is the work of several periods, the present railing having been erected when the bridge was last widened about four years since. It was upon this

bridge that the prior obtained permission to build a chapel for the use of pilgrims and travellers crossing it. Collinson and Warner state this chapel to have been dedicated to St. Lawrence, but I find that in the ancient oath taken by a citizen on admission to the freedom of the city are these words :—‘ Seynt Katern day y schall kepe holyday yearly, and Seynt Katern chapell and the brygge help to maintain and to susteyne by my poure.’ Hence I conclude that the chapel was dedicated to St. Catherine, which I learn also from a decree of the time of George II, was endowed with lands called St. Catherine’s, and reciting from a decree of the 32nd of Elizabeth, which however *might* refer to the hospital of St. Katherine’s, in ‘Bynebury-lane.’ I have not been able to find any view of this chapel in the maps of Bath, although a gate and towers are represented as late as 1723 in Stukeley’s *Itinerary*, unless a little building at the northern end at the eastern side of the bridge is intended to represent this chapel. Wood speaks of it as still in existence as St. Lawrence’s chapel in 1749.¹ In 1754 or 1755 this bridge was widened by the corporation, and although I cannot find any written record, I have always understood that marks of the foundations of the chapel were then discovered in the piers of the bridge.

“ At the top of Southgate-street, and near where the South gate stood until 1755, is St. James’s church, an entirely modern structure, the body of the church having been built in the year 1768, and the tower in 1847, replacing one which, although erected at so late a date as 1716, was of a somewhat gothic character.

“ Near the Cross Bath, in St. Michael’s-place, formerly stood the church of St. Michael’s *intra muros*; it consisted of an embattled west tower and nave of decorated or perpendicular character. The foundation of this church is of considerable antiquity, there being a record in existence of its having been repaired in 1190, by Fitz Joceline, bishop of Bath and Wells. In a survey made the 2nd of Edward VI, the following notice occurs: ‘The paryshe of Sainte Michell by the Bathe w^hin the citie of Bathe. There is an hospitall callyd Saynte Johannis hospitall, w^hin the said parysche, having lands, ten^u and heredi^u therunto belonging. . . . This hospitall is annexed to the paryshe of St. Michells aforesaide, and the prior of the saide churche is maister of the same hospitall.’

¹ At the entrance also were the representations of a lion and a bear, first mentioned in describing the bounds of the liberties of the city in the grant to Bath, by Elizabeth, in 1590. These remained until the bridge was widened in the last century, and were the origin of the present supporters to the arms of Bath; for which, I fear, the citizens can show no other authority, as in the last visitation of heralds, in 1623, the arms are blazoned without supporters. In 1586, Edward Neville, esq., who afterwards succeeded to the title as lord Abergavenny, purchased Newton park and the castle de St. Loc, or Sancto Laudo, near Bath; and the supporters of the arms of this family were, at one time, a lion and a bear. I have no doubt they were placed, in compliment to him, at the southern entrance of the city.

In 1573, the master of St. John's, who was also rector of St. Michael's, had allowed it, for want of proper repair, to fall into such decay, that queen Elizabeth granted a brief to be in force for seven years to repair it, together with the hospital and the abbey church; but those repairs were only of immediate service, for I find that a bill was filed in chancery in 1711, to oblige the corporation, the then masters, to set aside some fraudulent leases, wherein it is recited, that 'there was a chapel, called St. Michael's chapel, which was annexed to the mastership of the said hospital, and was a living presentable with cure of souls, yet he found it was sometimes turned into an alehouse, and at other times into a post office.' In answer to this petition, it was decreed by sir John Trevor, on the 18th February 1716, as follows:—'I do hereby adjudge and determine that the master of the said hospital for the time being, do keep in hand the house called St. Michael's chapel, now in possession of Mrs. Collins, and that the same be not leased any more, but that the same be enjoyed by the said Mrs. Collins during her life, she being a poor widow, and claiming a tenant right, and not able to renew, she paying the rent of £2 per annum, reserved on her former lease, and keeping the same in repair, and not turning or converting the same into a publick house; and after her death, the master of the said hospital is to dwell therein, or let it from year to year, as he thinks fit, so as it may not be used as a public house, or anything like it.'

"In 1718, the present chapel in connexion with St. John's hospital was built by Mr. Killigrew, the hospital being rebuilt ten years after by Mr. Wood, for the duke of Chandos. Notwithstanding the decrees of Chancery, St. Michael's church still suffered desecration; for Wood mentions it, in 1749, as having been used as a chandler's shop. Late in the last century it was occupied by an old woman, who kept a stall there until it was entirely removed, in 1790, I believe, to make room for a more suitable building. I should mention that I have seen human bones turned up in the ground that was formerly used as a churchyard.

"Immediately without the north gate stood the church of St. Michael's-*extra-muros*. Leland speaks of the '*towered steeple*', that it 'seemith to be auncient'. The only notice I find of this church, previous to Elizabeth, is the presentation of sir John de Bethlen, a Carthusian, to the living, by Stafford, bishop of Bath and Wells, in 1428. The present structure was erected, in 1837, by Mr. Mannors replacing a church that, although commenced in 1734, was not entirely completed until 1755. In the church are preserved the parish rolls from 1349.

"St. Mary *intra muros* stood within the North gate, and was standing as lately as 1780; it was for a long time used as a prison. Wood, in his account of Bath, says, 'It was an ancient steeple even in Leland's time, who speaks of it as a part of a parish church, but no sooner had queen Elizabeth consolidated the churches of the city into one cure, and, by her

charter of A.D. 1590, granted the citizens the privilege of a prison or gaol, than they, looking upon this house of God no more as an house of prayer, impiously turned the tower of it into a den of thieves.' The presentation to this church in 1591 was in the gift of Henry Champneys, of Orchardley in the county of Somerset. The church of St. Mary de Stall stood in the corner of Cheap-street and Stall-street, occupying with the churchyard that portion of ground between the pump room and Cheap-street and the passage leading to the abbey yard from that street. William Bitton, or Button, bishop of Bath and Wells, appropriated this church in 1263 to the monks of Bath. In 1322, an ordination of the vicarage was made, whereby it was appointed, amongst other particulars, that the vicar for the time being should constantly reside in Bath and serve the church either personally or by some proper curate, and that he should find a resident chaplain to perform divine service in the chapel of Widcombe.

"The first vicar of St. Mary de Stall was John de Dudmarton, appointed by the monastery of Bath in 1322. After him, I found no presentation till 1539, when the prior and monks of Bath granted the advowson for one term to sir Walter Denys. After the dissolution, the vicarage fell to the crown, Henry Adams being presented to it in 1571, and held it till his death in 1577. After his decease, no incumbent appears to have been presented to this living until 1584, when the mayor and citizens bestowed the living, as consolidated by queen Elizabeth, on sir Richard Meredith, in consideration whereof he gave the mayor and chief citizens a lease of all the property, reserving for himself the vicarage house of Stalls (?). The lease was for fifty years, and availing themselves of so good an opportunity, the lessees erected houses on the consecrated ground, and Stall church being hidden, it was neglected, and allowed gradually to decay, until the exact bounds of the church became difficult to be determined.

"In 1845, a vault of the church was discovered by Messrs. Arnold, beneath the floor of their wine vaults; and this, with the fact of a few human bones being found, is all that is left to mark the site of the former parish church.

"Having thus given a slight sketch of the former parish churches, it remains for me to advert to a few particulars of the abbey, as the principal object of archæological interest in this city. The present building was commenced by King, bishop of Bath and Wells, in 1500. 'A right goodly church' (says Leland) at the west part of the old church of St. Peter. The earlier church was commenced by John of Tours between the years 1090 and 1123, and was completed by bishop Robert, previous to the year 1174. This was not, however, the first church on this site, as many had been built and destroyed, or fallen into decay, since its foundation in A.D. 676. The present church stands on 14,445 square feet, of

which the points of support include somewhere about 4,500 square feet, a proportion, taking into consideration the nature of the superstructure, exceedingly small. It is 225 feet long from the large east window to the west, the aisles being seven feet longer. The width of the church, including the aisles, is 74 feet. The transepts are each twelve feet longer, making an extra width of 124 feet. I should mention, that the transepts are only twenty feet broad from east to west; and as they run up the extreme height of the nave and chancel, they are unusually narrow; but this, at the same time, gives great elevation to the whole. The principal architectural feature of the whole building is the western front, and on it is represented a dream of bishop Oliver King, thus related by sir John Harrington in 1499. 'That lying at Bath, and musing or meditating one night late, after his devotions and prayers for the prosperitie of Henry VII and his children (who were then all, or most part, living), to which king he was principal secretary, and by him preferred to his bishoprick, he saw, or supposed he saw, a vision of the Holie Trinitie, with angells ascending or descending by a ladder, neare to the foot of which there was a fayre olive tree, supporting a crowne, and a voyce that said, "Let an *olive* establish the *crowne*, and let a *King* restore the *church*." In consequence of this dream, sir John goes on further to say "that he presently set in hand with this church (the ruins of which I rue even in writing these lines). And at the west end thereof he caused a representation to be graved of this his vision of the Trynitie, the angells and the ladder; and on the north side, the olive and the crowne, with certain French wordes, which I could not reade; but in English is this vearse, taken out of the book of Judges, chap. 9:—

'Trees going to choose their king,
Said, be to us the Olive king.'

All which is so curiously cut and carved, as in the west part of England is no better works, than in the west part of this poore church, and to make the credit of all this more authentick, he added this word to it: 'De sursum est,' 'It is from on high.' Thus much the stones and walls (though dust, witnesses yet credible) doe plainly testifie.' "

"Some portions of this front are exceedingly well executed, but most of the figures, which originally stood without canopies, have perished. In representing the bishop's dream, it was necessary that the angels should appear to be ascending, as well as descending, the ladder; this would be no great difficulty in the hands of a modern builder, the positions of figures ascending or descending being precisely similar, but the ruder sculptors of antiquity without much ado turned the descending figures upside down, and so they are coming down head foremost! Few of these figures have heads, for one unfortunately fell down at the feet of an alderman in the last century, who, to prevent a similar occurrence, had the remaining figures decapitated!

" I will not enter into the minutiae of the history of this building, as we have among us this day one¹ who has most ably written of all concerning this church, pointing out its incomplete state at the time of the Reformation, its subsequent ruin, and re-establishment with the assistance of private subscription in the reign of Elizabeth. I will only therefore notice a few of its beauties and peculiarities, which we shall presently have the opportunity of examining. The projection of the north and south aisles beyond the east wall of the church is certainly most peculiar, and is, I think, easily accounted for, as the present east wall was evidently not originally intended to be the boundary of the church eastward, but merely the separation of it from a lady chapel. I am confirmed in this opinion, *first*, by the description Leland gives of the site of the abbey being to the west of the former church, then in part standing, and his mention of the tomb of John of 'Tours, who is buried in the middle of the presbytery, 'whos' image (he says) I saw lying there nine yere sins, at the which time all the church that he made lay to wast and was unrofid, and wedes grew about this John of Tours sepulchre;' and, *secondly*, by the fact, that the greater part of the eastern walls of the aisles are the remains of the older church, the windows being built within an arch of the time of John of Tours, some time early in the seventeenth century. The buttresses also are of this date, and were evidently put up to terminate the wall, as it had been left toothed or ragged, as walls usually are when other work is intended to be added. To confirm also my opinion of the probable extent of the buildings, I should mention that the south side of the orange grove is exactly parallel with the extreme wall of the south aisle, and that the houses are built upon exceedingly massive walls, which must be either the ruins of the older church, of which the bases of some of the columns exist at the east end of the abbey, or the foundation of an arch to the lady chapel. The present east window does not appear to me to be of the original design, nor do the two upper stages of the eastern staircase turrets. I cannot speak with certainty, but I do not conceive that a square-headed eastern window could have been designed by King; there can, however, be little doubt about the turrets, as they do not agree with the base on which they stand, nor are they of similar work to the old. The flying buttresses to the choir are the original, but those of the nave were built in 1334, together with the pinnacles to the towers and buttresses. When these last alterations were in progress, there was great discussion as to the appropriate terminations for the turrets and buttresses, and even now various opinions have been circulated. I would offer mine with all diffidence, that the turrets, instead of the present pinnacles, should have been surmounted by ogee cupolas, as in Westwood church, near Bath, or as in the better known example of New college, Cambridge; and that the buttresses on

¹ The late Mr. Britton.

the aisles at the foot of the flying portion should have been carried up considerably higher than at present, and crowned instead of pinnaced with a sort of pedestal resembling those at Christchurch, Hampshire, or in the chapel at Windsor."

The paper being concluded, the Chairman observed that having now had placed before them a general summary of the history and antiquities of Bath by Dr. Markland; an account especially of its Roman remains by the rev. Mr. Scarth; and a statement regarding the ancient and modern churches of the city by Mr. Davis; the Association were well prepared to visit the different objects to which their attention had been directed. Mr. Davis undertook to conduct the members and visitors through the town, and proceeded in the first instance to the abbey church, where he pointed out the most remarkable features in its architecture and the other objects of interest contained in it, and to which he had adverted in his paper. Having pointed out the screen, which was new, Mr. Davis, among other matters, directed attention to the grave of lord Byron's father, the tomb of Quin with Garrick's epitaph, the tomb of Beau Nash, and the monument to Jacob Bosanquet by Carter, which was eulogized by Mr. Pettigrew as a charming piece of art, full of sympathy and tenderness. Another object of interest was the tomb of the Wallers, the figure of the lady being recumbent. The nose of the knight is missing, and, in referring to this circumstance, Mr. Davis said it was generally believed that James II, when on a visit to the abbey, struck off the nose of the knight because he was not a royalist. This report, however, was incorrect, as Pepys stated that a year before the period of James's visit the nose was missing. The tomb of sir Richard Bickerton, by Chantrey, was next referred to; also that of colonel Frowde, which was said to be one of the oldest monuments in the city, it dating from the time of Charles I. The peculiarity of the Bath abbey, Mr. Davis observed, was that the tower was not square, but an oblong square, which made the transept very narrow. It appeared to have been arranged in order to give greater elevation to the exterior. This he considered a defect, as it threw the tower into an imperfect perspective. The immense height of the transepts was very remarkable, and the fan tracery in the roof was, perhaps, the finest specimen of the kind existing. The form of the east window, until the late restoration of the church, was square. In the exterior this window remained as it was formerly, but in the interior it was thought better to fill up the spandrels. The glass contained representations of the sun and moon. The exterior was generally considered to be of the original design, but he imagined that it had been executed in the reign of Elizabeth. This window was done at the expense of Thomas Billet, treasurer and steward of lord Burleigh. Another peculiarity of the church was noticed by Mr. Davis: in perpendicular work everything was frittered away in small members; but the architect who designed this

church, he believed, saw the folly of running into the extreme in the mouldings, and had therefore given the utmost breadth to everything. Small mouldings were done away with, and bold curves, flats, and other forms adopted. Mr. Davis also showed in this part of the church the four-centered arch of this period, which, in the arches of the aisles is very flat, but, in the arches above, the windows and groining gradually ascend until they appear like feathers fading into air.

Prior Bird's chapel, at the south end of the choir, was inspected, and its architectural peculiarities adverted to. It is a magnificent specimen of architectural design and elaborate workmanship, remarkable for the richness and purity of its decorations. The Prior's rebus for "W. Bird," consisting of a bird in the letter "W," occurs in several parts of the chapel. In scraping off the whitewash in Prior Bird's chapel, which was nearly half-an-inch thick, it was discovered that the carving had not been finished, as underneath the whitewash upon the stone the pencillings of the artist were distinctly visible. This was evidently the practice at the time previous to the Reformation. The three spandrels were unfinished, as also the frieze.

The arms of cardinal Adrian de Costello in the transept were next shown, as also the monument to lady Miller, who is mentioned by Dr. Johnson. Leaving the abbey by the east end, Mr. Davis pointed out the remains of two pillars in a line with the door, a portion of the church of John of Tours, and also other vestiges of antiquity.

The Roman baths were next visited, and a bath was exhibited and described by Mr. Davis as the first attempt made in the construction of private baths for the public. It was supposed by many to be Roman, but it was as recent as 1750. Near this site stood the Abbey house, and these baths were, no doubt, connected with it. During the inspection of this place, Mr. Sainsbury exhibited some Roman coins discovered during the alterations now in progress at these baths.

Ralph Allen's house, situate behind York-street, was another object of interest inspected. The beautiful façade of this house was said to be the finest piece of architecture in Bath. It was the town residence of Ralph Allen, of Prior park, and was built by Wood. From this spot the party proceeded to the old Abbey gate, situate in Abbey Gate-street, where a part of the hinge of the old abbey gate, still existing, was pointed out. The gate itself was said to be in the possession of Mr. Tugwell, of Crow hall. The house containing the office of the city inspector of weights and measures, near St. James's church, was also singled out as a fine specimen of domestic architecture previous to Wood's time.

Weymouth house was the next object of attention. The owner of Longleat, the marquis of Bath, takes one of his titles from this house. The property cannot be sold, the title of the noble marquis being attached to it. It is now used as the national school and the school of art.

St. James's church, Bellot's hospital, founded in 1603, for the reception and lodging of twelve poor men, the baths, and pump rooms, were successively visited. While in the latter, Mr. Ezra Hunt corrected an impression which had hitherto prevailed as to the authorship of the epigram penned upon the full figure of Beau Nash between the busts of Newton and Pope.

"The pictures placed, the bust between
Adds to the thought much strength,
Wisdom and Wit are little seen,
But Folly's at full length."

These lines had been attributed to Chesterfield, but they appear, from Southey's *Specimen Poets*, to have been the production of Jane Brereton.

Hetling house was entered. In this ancient building, the town residence of the Hungerford family, there is a fine specimen of wood carving over the chimney-piece, of the time of queen Elizabeth. It is one of the oldest mansions in Bath, and is now occupied as a chapel by the Mormonites! It was stated that the Hungerford family, who resided at Farleigh Castle, were the owners of more manors than any other family known. The name of the Hungerfords is to be found in all the old deeds and statutes connected with this neighbourhood. The house formerly looked upon fields, and, a short time ago, there was discovered a passage leading from the house through the borough walls into the mead beyond. Fifteen years ago, when the house underwent some alterations, there were found several fine specimens of architecture of different styles. A small place was found, supposed to be a dungeon (from an iron lamp which it contained), the arch of which was supported by Norman capitals. The last of the Hungerfords dissipated the whole of his fortune in the reign of Charles II. According to tradition he was so extravagant that he spent £500 for a blue wig. In this house the West of England Agricultural Society, the parent of many similar associations, was established by the duke of Bedford one hundred and twenty years ago.

The duke of Northumberland's house in Westgate-street, now used as a furniture shop, also gave rise to observation. Leaving this, the visitors came to the house of Beau Nash, now the Garrick's Head, adjoining the theatre, which, having been minutely inspected, the party passed on to the remains of the Roman wall, surrounding the city, on the Upper Borough walls, and also to the Blue Coat school. This very interesting tour closed with a visit to St. Michael's church, where some of the ancient records of the abbey were examined and read by Mr. Black. Many of these were interesting, as, for instance:—"1349, paid for wax bought against the Nativity of our Lord, 10s. 1d.; 23d. paid for making wax candles; 1d. paid for drink about the mending the horiscope (meaning, probably, the clock); 1d. paid for carrying the banner of the church in Rogation week." In this registry, Walcot-street and Broad-street

were mentioned. Another record of the reign of Henry VI mentioned Frog-lane. A roll of Edward VI contained the following items:—"15*d.* for serving man for pulling down of the high altar; account of William Fisher, clerk, and William Clements, churchwarden, of the church of St. Michael's outside the Northgate of the city of Bath, 2*s.* 8*d.* for bringing the church book to Wells; paid for one missal-book bought, 42*s.* 6*d.* For prayers at Guildhall, at the Feasts of Pentecost, 4*d.* One lamp lighting up before the alter on St. Giles's, 1*d.* An expense about making this account, bread 2*d.*, ale 5*d.*, fish 4*d.*, and one clerk hired to make the account, together with the necessaries, 12*d.*" While some of the company remained at the church listening to Mr. Black, others paid a visit to the valuable geological collection belonging to W. D. Bush, esq., the mayor, in the Circus, which had been most kindly thrown open to the Association during their stay in Bath.

At 6 o'clock the Association met to dine at the Council Room of the Guildhall. Mr. Pettigrew, V.P., presided, supported by capt. G. T. Scobell, M.P., W. Tite, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., the very rev. the dean of Llandaff, F.R.S., J. H. Markland, Esq. D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., George Norman, Esq., &c., &c., the Mayor being prevented by an urgent professional engagement. The festivity of the meeting was well maintained by various addresses from those present, advocating warmly the objects of the Association and expressing the great satisfaction felt on occasion of the visit; after which the party withdrew to the Royal Literary and Scientific Institution, W. Tite, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., in the chair, where Mr. Pettigrew read a paper "On the Prevalence of Yew Trees in the Churchyards of Somersetshire, and on other Funereal Emblems derived from the Vegetable Kingdom of Nature." The most frequent emblems of our mortality of this description, he remarked, were the *cyprus*, the *pine*, and the *yew*. Of these, the latter is of the most frequent occurrence, and in some counties of England yew trees will be found to have been planted in great numbers. In Somersetshire there is scarcely a churchyard without them; and in many instances they have acquired considerable magnitude. Large yew trees, planted singly, are in the following churchyards of this county:—North Stoke, Wotton Courtney, Mark, Chillington, West Pennard, North Wotton, Wraxhall, Flax Bourton, Sandford Bret, Churchhill, Congesbury, and Winscombe. There are two in the churchyards of Chewton Mendip, Stone Easton, Bromfield, Stoke, and Courcy. At Trent and at Buckland St. Mary, they are twelve feet in circumference at about four feet from the ground; at Broadway, fourteen feet; at Creech St. Michael, fifteen feet, and hollow; at Fitzhead, sixteen feet; at Chapel Allerton, seventeen feet, at five feet from the ground; at Burrington, eighteen feet; at Kiloe and at Enmore nineteen feet; at Priston, twenty-one feet; at Stoke Giffard, twenty-two feet; at Marston Bigot, twenty-three, at four feet from the

ground; at Midsomer Norton, the branches form a circle to the extent of one hundred and forty feet; at Ashill there is one fifteen feet round, with branches extending north and south sixty-six feet; and another of three large trunks with arms, some of which are now decayed. At West Harptree there are ten exceedingly fine; they have been clipped into cones, and the diameter of the largest is at the bottom thirty-six feet; the height, forty feet; and the trunk is thirteen feet in circumference; these are esteemed the finest in the kingdom. At Portbury there are three very large, one measuring nineteen feet seven inches, at seven feet from the ground, with timber running nearly sixty feet in height; a second, eighteen feet, at four feet from the ground, running up that size for twenty feet, with branches seventy feet high; the third is fifteen feet in circumference at three feet from the ground, and continues such eighteen feet high, and is now entirely a shell. There is a fourth in the churchyard, but it is of lesser height and smaller dimensions. At Angersleigh there is one which divides, at a foot from the ground, into four other large trunks, which at a height of ten feet, subdivides into many branches. At West Monckton there are two very large yew trees, one of which is nearly twenty-four feet in circumference, within a foot of the ground; it divides into many branches, and spreads out to a considerable distance. At Drayton there are two large ones, with stone seats placed round them. At Staple Fitz Paine, a very fine yew tree has a pair of stocks placed under it for the accommodation of its occupants in former times; and at Mark, where there is a very large yew, many trees of this description of considerable magnitude, have been dug up in the moors, at a depth of about six feet. By exposure to the air they soon fell into decay, though they appeared to be very hard and as black as ink.¹ Many observations were made upon the subject by various speakers; after which, Mr. Black delivered a short discourse "On the Ancient Husbandry of Dorsetshire and Somersetshire," illustrated by the *Ditée*, or Norman French Treatise of Sir Walter de Horley.

Time would not permit of the reading of other papers, but they will appear in future numbers of the Journal.

A conversazione, tea and refreshments provided by the liberality of the local committee of Bath, terminated the evening's proceedings, during which a very interesting and valuable collection of plans and maps, brought together by Mr. C. P. Russell, the librarian of the Royal Literary and Scientific Institution, was exhibited. This extraordinary collection is justly deserving particular notice, as being one of the largest

¹ Since the reading of the paper above mentioned, Mr. Pettigrew has, in his *Chronicles of the Tombs* (published by H. G. Bohn in the series of antiquarian works), treated fully of funereal emblems. We have, therefore, confined our notice to that which more particularly relates to Somersetshire, and refer our readers to the work specified above for more ample information on this interesting subject.

of the kind ever made, and extending over a period of about three hundred years. Amongst it are numerous remarkable sketches appertaining to Bath and its neighbourhood, besides voluminous remarks and references to works on Bath which have been published from time to time by eminent authors. The whole is comprised in a large and beautifully bound volume, and is an enduring record of the collector's great perseverance.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 30.

The Association assembled at an early hour at the Royal Literary and Scientific Institution, to proceed on an excursion in the first place to Widcombe old Church, described in Mr. Davis's paper (p. 136 *ante*). A house near to the church attracted attention by the excellence of its architecture and the remembrance that it had been celebrated by Fielding in "Tom Jones". The party then passed on to Prior Park. The house was described by Mr. Davis, who stated that it was built for Ralph Allen, esq., in 1734, by Mr. Wood; its several apartments, and the chapel in which Bishop Warburton officiated, were visited, and, though now unoccupied and desolate, they yet excited much interest. The view from the mansion gave great delight. The carriages now proceeded to Combe Down, obtaining a glimpse of Midford Castle, portions of the Wansdyke, Stourhead and Westbury White Horse. On the top of Bathwick Hill, the members alighted and proceeded to the Hampton Rocks. Here the Wansdyke was traced out by the Rev. Mr. Scarth, who, assembling the Association on the embankment through the wicket gate that leads to the Rocks, acquainted them that they had just crossed the great Belgic boundary of the Wansdyke, and had now entered on the Belgic settlement. Proceeding towards the centre of the Down, Mr. Scarth pointed out the exact position of the camp, and traced the pathway that went through it, which he described as being in a curved direction. He also shewed the position of Bannerdown, the hill from which the Saxons besieged Bath, and the spot on which Guthrum surrendered to Alfred. Having directed attention to these various objects of interest, Mr. Scarth read his paper. (See pp. 98-113 *ante*.)

BATHHAMPTON CHURCH was next inspected, upon which Mr. Jeffrey, of Bath, read a short notice. He stated that "the manor of Bathampton, at the time of the Norman conquest, belonged to the church of Bath; and that after the death of abbot Ælsig, in 1087, John de Villula, bishop of Wells, obtained a grant of the abbey, with the intention of uniting it to his see, and of removing the episcopal seat to Bath. Walcuinus de Douay gave to God and the church of St. Peter, and bishop John and the ministers of the same, the church of Bathampton, with half of a hide of land, and all the tithes of that manor. At the dissolution of the monas-

teries the rectory and advowson of this church became the property of the dean and chapter of Bristol. The church is dedicated to St Nicholas, and consists of chancel, nave, south porch, south aisle or chapel, with tower at the west end. There is a south door in the chancel with modern square head. On the north side of the chancel is a large square perpendicular window containing five cinquefoil-headed lights. On the gable of the chancel are the fragments of a small cross. The pitch of the chancel roof is good, rising considerably above the roof of the nave, which has been lowered several feet. The north side of the nave contains three windows, each having three cinquefoil lights. The tower is fifty feet in height, and is well proportioned, perpendicular, of three stages, with angular buttresses and pinnacles. The story mouldings are carried round the buttresses and stair turret which is at the north-east angle of the tower. There is a small well proportioned west door in the tower. The spandrels are filled with delicate tracery, much worn by time and weather, and over them is a good west window, filled up with tracery of simple but effective character."

In the porch of this church are erected the mutilated effigies of a knight and lady of the early portion of the fourteenth century, (*temp.* Edward II, or early Edward III). They have been removed within from the churchyard, into which they had been ejected from the south aisle of the church on its reparation by Ralph Allen, in 1754. They are most interesting relics, beautifully sculptured, and exceedingly instructive in point of costume. In the wall of the church, on the outside, under the chancel window, is a niche containing a figure described by Collinson to be that of a woman, holding a book in her hand": but which Mr. Planché stated to be the effigy of a bishop of very early Norman date (eleventh century). The head of the pastoral staff is mutilated, but the outlines of a chasuble and of the ends of the stole are clearly to be traced, as also the vittæ or infulæ of the mitre. The apparel of the albe is ornamented with a zig-zag or dog's-tooth pattern, which has the appearance of a ruff, and contributes no doubt to the mistake of the sex. The design and execution of the sculpture are rude: but it is a monument of great antiquity and curiosity, and deserves engraving and recording.

Having inspected the church, the party availed themselves of the proffered liberality of P. B. Sheppard, Esq., of Bathampton manor, and the Rev. Walter Moore, of Batheaston, where elegant refreshments were provided, and an opportunity afforded to view the fine collection of paintings belonging to Mr. Sheppard. Thus refreshed, the Association made examination of BATHEASTON CHURCH, availing themselves of information communicated by Mr. Jeffrey.

Athelstan, and William Rufus, bestowed upon the monastery of Bath, considerable possessions in the parish of Batheaston, and the church was appropriated at a very early period to the abbey. Disputes arising

betwixt the prior and the convent, and the vicar, relating to the appropriation of the tithes, in 1262 an agreement was entered into to adjust the differences; and at the dissolution, the rectory and vicarage was granted to Christ church, Oxford. The church is dedicated to St. John the Baptist. It is 108 feet long, 22 wide, and consists of chancel, nave, north aisle, south porch and tower, which is 100 feet in height. This church presents very few objects of interest except the south porch and tower, which is well built and a handsome specimen of late perpendicular. The west window of the tower is also good perpendicular. The south porch has been much mutilated in modern times, but it still retains sufficient traces of its original design to be called beautiful. The North aisle was built in 1833, and has nothing to recommend it to notice. There is a campanile to hold a *Sancte* bell, between the nave and chancel.

During the visit to Batheaston, a kind invitation (of which several of the party availed themselves) was received from Mrs. Moseley, to inspect some of the finest rubbings of various brasses it has been our lot to meet with, collected together by Miss Moseley at Eagle House. Here also was inspected a beautifully executed charter, by Charles II, granted to the Merchant Venturers of England. It was richly illuminated, and a fine specimen of calligraphy. Another portion paid a visit to the camp on Solsbury Hill, upon which the rev. Mr. Scarth gave much information.

SWAINSWICK CHURCH was the next object of examination; and Mr. Jeffrey supplied some notes to aid the inspection:

"The earliest record relating to this church states that, 'in 1399, William Schawe, parson of the church of Swayneswyke, and Thomas Norton the chaplain, grant to Edmund Forde and Johanna his wife this their manor, with the advowson of the church.' In the eighth year of the reign of Edward IV it was possessed by Edmund Blunt. In the same reign it became the property of Roger Kemys, who released it to William Sewey; and in the year 1529 it belonged to Richard Dudley, D.D., fellow of Oriel college, Oxford, and chancellor of Salisbury cathedral, who conveyed the manor and advowson to his college for the maintenance of two fellows and six exhibitioners.

"The church is dedicated to St. Mary, and consists of chancel, nave, north aisle, and chapel, south porch, and tower. It contains examples of the Norman, Early English, and Perpendicular styles. The inner door of the south porch is Norman, consisting of two shafts with spiral flutings. The arch above is formed with zig-zag ornament. In the wall of the north aisle is a large perpendicular window, consisting of four trefoil lights; and on the same side, near the north door leading to the chapel at the east end of the north aisle, is a small square-headed window of two trefoil lights. This chapel is the same width as the aisle, and contains an east window, square-headed, and filled with four cinquefoil-headed lights; and on the north side is a four-light trefoil-headed

window. The north door of this chapel is perpendicular, with span-drills filled with tracery and shields. On the right side of the door is a canopied niche and the remains of a stoup.

"The tower is in three stages, with a gabled roof, and plain mouldings at top as a finish. Its western wall is flush with the west end of the nave; and there is one buttress set at right angles with the south-west corner. The belfry contains four narrow, square-headed two-light windows, one on each side. The interior of the church presents much that is interesting, the singular construction of the base story of the tower being the principal object to excite attention; two massive octagonal Early English piers, projecting into the nave on the east; half of another, built into the west end of the nave; and a thick wall on the north. From these spring pointed arches supporting the upper stages of the tower. Over the octagonal capitals of the piers, at the south-east angle, is a rude figure of an angel supporting a plain shield. The font is of Early English character, with octagonal base, shaft, and bowl. The nave is divided from the north aisle by two perpendicular arches and a narrow round-headed arched space between the first pier and the chancel arch. A stair leading to the rood-loft may have occupied this portion. On each pier is a small bracket for holding a statue. A very handsome Perpendicular arch, panned throughout from the base to the point of the arch, divides the chancel from the chapel at the east end of the north aisle. This chapel contains a good piscina. The chancel and the side chapel are divided from the nave and aisle by bold, plain Perpendicular arches. There is a very elegant ogee-arched water stoup on the right side of the south door, within the church, the upper part of which only is visible above the pews. This church contains, in the chancel, a small brass, with an inscription to the memory of Edmund Forde of Swainswick. There are also monuments of the father and mother of the celebrated William Prynne."

From Swainswick the Association proceeded to LANGRIDGE. The church is small and most picturesquely situated. It consists of chancel, nave, south porch, tower, and small vestry attached to the south side of the chancel. The general character of the church is Perpendicular. The windows are, with one exception (in the nave), of that style; but the inner doorway of the porch is Norman, with recessed shafts and bold zig-zag. There is a holy water stoup fixed to the right hand shaft. The tower appears to be of earlier character than the nave and chancel. It consists of two stages with a small light in the belfry. The chancel arch is sufficient to render this church the most interesting in the locality. It is very bold Norman, seven feet wide, and has originally been circular; but from the imperfect nature of the foundation the arch is now much depressed, the piers being spread much out of the perpendicular. The font is Norman, or very Early English, in design. There is a brass in

the chancel to the memory of Robert Walshe, who was lord of the manor, and died in 1427. There is also another inscription, with a full length effigy of his wife, at the entrance of the chancel. She died in 1441.

In the north-east corner of this church lay the effigy of a lady, in the dress of the thirteenth century, similar to that at Tickenham, and supposed by Collinson to represent one of the Walish or Walshe family, who are said to have built this church. The manor of Langridge was held by Adam le Walish, 7th of Edward II. The effigy is not later, Mr. Planché said, than the reign of Edward I. An Adam le Walshe died seized of lands in Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, 33rd of Edward I (1305); but he finds no record of the wives of either of these Adams. In the opposite corner was embedded a piece of sculpture of a much earlier period. Mr. Planché regarded this as coeval with the fine Norman arch (eleventh century) at the entrance to the chancel. It represents the Virgin with the infant Saviour in her lap, and was found by the sexton of the church on the demolition of an old wall, in which it had been built up either in disregard of its interest, or, as in the case of the top of the rood discovered at Yeovil, purposely to preserve it from destruction by the iconoclasts of the sixteenth century.¹ A stone coffin was disinterred here some few years ago, and in it was found a *martel-de-fer* with engraved silver mountings in fine preservation. The ornamentation is undoubtedly oriental; and as the discovery of it in the coffin is well authenticated, it is a relic of great curiosity,—a trophy, it may be, of the holy wars, and buried with the crusader as one of his most valued weapons. The form of the *martel-de-fer* underwent little or no variation from the time of the conquest to the reign of Henry VIII; and medieval European specimens are only to be distinguished from oriental ones of the present day by the style of ornamentation; and as the latter preserve their ancient character throughout the east, any attempt to give a precise date to it would be futile. That of the stone coffin in which it was found, and which we did not see, could alone determine the *latest* period it could be assigned to. A new handle has been fitted to it; and it is in possession of the reverend incumbent, whose son kindly exhibited it to the members.

ST. LAWRENCE'S CHAPEL, Lansdown, constituted the next point of observation. Mr. Jeffrey observed that Collinson had stated (but on no authority sufficiently satisfactory to receive implicit reliance), that this chapel was built on the site of a hospital erected to give succour to pilgrims on their way to the shrine of St. Joseph of Arimathea at Glaston. The same authority states that a farm called Gowdees, near Tatwick, and this chapel on Lansdown, are extra-parochial, and that both belong to the tithing of Walcot.

¹ These figures have, by the recommendation of the Association, been put up over the chancel arch by colonel Blathwayt.

The foundation is involved in obscurity; but it is probable that, as the monastery at Bath had large possessions in the adjoining parishes, and property to some extent in Walcot, the edifice was erected and sustained by the pious care of the fraternity of that convent. These chapels are often to be found near the boundaries of large conventual houses, at the entrance of towns, at the foot or on the centre of bridges. They very seldom have walled enclosures for the purpose of burial, and very rarely are the remains of the dead found near to them. They generally stand out bare and alone, near the highways. The chapel under notice was one of these institutions. It is now, and has been for many years, a farmhouse. Traces of the buttresses that supported the nave or tower (if it possessed one) may still be seen; and several of the early Decorated windows that formerly gave light to the nave: some are blocked up, a few only surviving their original purpose. The interior presents no object worthy of particular notice. Nearly every vestige of its former uses is entirely removed, and the space filled by rooms and offices for the use of the tenant of the chapel farm. The fair on Lansdown is held on St. Lawrence's day. The chapel, no doubt, was dedicated to that saint; and the farm is called the farm of St. Lawrence.

On Lansdown the Association reflected upon the spot where the battle was fought, in 1643, between the royalists and the parliamentarians, under sir William Waller, in which sir B. Grenville was slain.

CHARLCOMBE CHURCH formed the last object of examination for the day. The manor of Charcombe and the advowson of the church belonged to the abbey at Bath many years before the conquest, as we find from *Domesday Book* that it was held of the abbey by William Hossett, or Hosatus. Various tenants of the abbey possessed the patronage of the church till the dissolution of monasteries, when the manor and advowson passed to the Bedingfields, and, after various changes, became the property of the rev. Walter Robins, who conveyed it to the corporation of Bath, to be annexed for ever to the mastership of Edward VI's grammar school in that city. The church is dedicated to St. Mary. It consists of chancel, nave, and south porch. The inner door of the porch is Norman, of early date, and consists of two plain shafts, with capitals alike in design, supporting a plain circular arch. The porch walls, those of the nave and chancel, may be considered, in all general particulars, as early Perpendicular; but much of the work is unquestionably of older date. The east window of the chancel is Perpendicular, consisting of three cinquefoil headed lights. There are also two Perpendicular windows in the south side of the chancel. There is a western Perpendicular window consisting of two lights with cinquefoil heads. On the north side of the nave is a Perpendicular window containing three trefoil lights with square head; and on the north side of the chancel is a Perpendicular window containing three trefoil lights, also with square head. There is a doorway on the north

side of the nave, nearly opposite the south entrance. It is blocked and partly hidden by a clumsy heavy buttress, one of several built to support the leaning walls, all exceedingly ugly and mean. One of the original buttresses remains supporting the south-east angle of the chancel.

Collinson states that, in his time, some indications existed of foundations of a building without the churchyard wall on the north, and conjectured that it might be the remains of a priest's residence. If this be correct, this north door would be the one generally used by him. On the west end of the nave rises a singular square embattled tower or turret, in beautiful harmony with the structure. Its western side projects slightly beyond the plane of the nave, and is supported by three massive corbels or brackets.

The pulpit is of stone, very large, plain and circular in form, bearing vestiges of great antiquity in its rude design and cumbrous appearance. The doorway and stairs leading to the rood-loft remain nearly perfect, and are sunk into the south wall of the nave. The font is ancient, early Norman in character, and having a shallow festoon band at the junction of the bowl with the shaft, which is circular. The church is one of the smallest in the kingdom, being only fifty feet long and eighteen wide. It is now suffering from the effects of time and weather, and measures are necessary to rescue it from destruction. The rev. Mr. Maclean, the rector, Dr. Markland, Mr. Long, Mr. Tite, and others, have subscribed towards its restoration, and those gentlemen will gladly receive contributions in aid of its preservation.

Thus closed the tour of the last day of the Congress, and the party returned to Bath, and held the concluding meeting at the Guildhall, where refreshments were provided in the council chamber. W. D. Bush, esq., the mayor, took the chair, and called upon the hon. member for Bath, W. Tite, esq., to deliver a paper "On the Gradual Improvement in the Social Manners and Condition of the People of England during the Middle Ages, as evidenced by the improvement of their Buildings and Habitations"; after which various resolutions were proposed and adopted. Thanks were voted to the patrons of the Congress; to the mayor and corporation of Bath; to the directors of the Royal Literary and Scientific Society; to the contributors of papers and to exhibitors; to those who had hospitably entertained the Association; to the local secretaries and committee; to the treasurer, and to the worshipful mayor, the chairman of this meeting, who, in acknowledging the vote, returned thanks for the corporation, and expressed his regret that the Association had not been able to pay a longer visit to the city of Bath. He trusted, however, that ere long, a further exploration and examination of its antiquities and those of the surrounding country would be made. The proceedings of the Congress then closed.

Proceedings of the Association.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

APRIL 8, 1857.

JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE chairman called upon the auditors for their report and balance-sheet, whereupon C. A. Elliott, esq., and Alfred Thompson, esq., delivered in the following :

"REPORT OF THE AUDITORS, 1856.

"The auditors appointed by the annual general meeting of the British Archæological Association, for 1856, have to report that, upon examination of the accounts of the society, they find the sum of £347 : 5 : 11 to have been received during the year ; and £383 : 9 : 6½ to have been paid by the treasurer ; leaving a balance of £36 : 3 : 7 due to that officer ; which, added to the amount recorded in the auditors' report for 1855, of £169 : 18 : 9½, renders the society indebted to the treasurer in the sum of £206 : 2 : 5.

"No liabilities beyond this debt to the treasurer exist in regard to the society, it appearing to have been the uniform practice to discharge all debts incurred by the society during the year : a practice which cannot but be approved by the members, though they will doubtless be equally anxious with ourselves that no outlay on the part of the treasurer should have been incurred.

"The heavy expense entailed by the publication and illustration of the *Journal* of the society, has in some measure arisen from the more than ample supply of communications made to the society, the subjects of most of which are of a nature requiring extensive illustration. That the *Journal* should be maintained in its present very efficient state, is highly to be desired ; and the auditors cannot but express their great satisfaction at the manner in which this important object has been carried out. They are also bound to acknowledge the assistance rendered by several gentlemen in regard to the illustration of their papers,—at the same time

that the specific direction of those contributions goes not towards diminishing the debt due to the treasurer (the chief object for which the donation fund was established), but to the maintaining of the copious illustration for which the *Journal* is most remarkable among the publications of societies. The auditors, therefore, desire to draw the attention of the general meeting to the necessity of either contributing to discharge the debt due to the treasurer, or, by multiplying the number of members, enable the great variety of communications to be published, and the efficiency of the *Journal* maintained. It must be obvious to all that the return of an annual volume consisting of upwards of four hundred pages of letter-press, with forty plates of illustrations, in addition to separate woodcuts, as, during the past year, presented to the members in return for the small contribution of one guinea, is more than can be fairly expected or given, unless the number of members be considerably increased.

"The auditors rejoice to find that, during the past year, forty-four new subscribing associates have been added to the list, whilst the resignations (fewer in number than in any previous year from the commencement of the association) and deaths during the same period amount only to seventeen, leaving an increase in the strength of the society of twenty-seven. The perfect harmony and goodwill among the members, and the spirit of activity, which happily prevail, lead us to anticipate a further strengthening of its body, twenty new associates having, as we learn, been already added during the present year.

"The treasurer having communicated to us the resolution of the council to recommend to the annual general meeting to erase from the list of members several associates whose subscriptions have, notwithstanding repeated applications, got into extensive arrear, we have examined the names submitted for removal, and cannot but consider the measure justly called for, and due to the maintenance of the association in a healthful and sound condition. The arrears of thirty-six members, thus proposed to be canceled, amount to no less than £186: 18: 0: a sum sufficient to have discharged the debt of the society to its treasurer.

"In closing this report the auditors beg to express their satisfaction at the manner in which the accounts of the society are kept, and of the strict economy with which all its proceedings are conducted. To the treasurer the thanks of the association are eminently due.

"CYRUS ALEX^r ELLIOTT.

"ALFRED THOMPSON."

"April 7th, 1857."

1856.	RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
	Annual and life subscriptions	288	15	0
	Donations, as per 3rd list, contributed to the fund for illustration of the <i>Journal</i>	15	1	6
	<i>Donations in plates and woodcuts for ditto :</i>			
	T. J. Pettigrew, esq. Fourteen plates and three woodcuts to illustrate his papers on the seals of grammar schools, etc.			
	James James, esq. Five plates and four woodcuts to illustrate his paper on spurs.			
	Thomas Hughes, esq. Two plates to illustrate his work on Chester.			
	Thomas Brewer, esq. One plate to illustrate the death of Whyttington.			
	Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society. Plan of Wells cathedral.			
	Balance on account of Bridgwater Congress .	15	10	5
	Sale of publications	27	19	0
		£347	5	11
	Balance due to the Treasurer	36	3	7½
		£383	9	6½
	CYRUS ALEX ^r ELLIOTT. ALFRED THOMPSON.			
	April 7th, 1857.			

1856.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
	Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i> for the year	215	18	7
	Binding of volume xi	5	0	0
	Illustrations of the <i>Journal</i> for the year . .	78	19	4½
	Miscellaneous printing	14	15	2
	Rent of rooms for public meetings	13	13	0
	Stationery	5	8	6
	Collector's commission; agent for delivery of the journals; and gratuities to attendants .	27	1	2
	Postage of circulars, notices, etc., and advertisements	14	14	0
	Petty expenses, carriage of antiquities, etc. .	7	19	9
		£383	9	6½
	CYRUS ALEX ^r ELLIOTT. ALFRED THOMPSON.			
	April 7th, 1857.			

Balance due to the treasurer, 1855 .	169	18	9½
Ditto	36	3	7½
	£206	2	5
	CYRUS ALEX ^r ELLIOTT. ALFRED THOMPSON.		
	April 7th, 1857.		

The treasurer reported the following (the third) list of donations to the fund for aiding in the illustration of the *Journal* :

	£	s.	d.
H. Syer Cuming, esq. additional	2	2	0
Nathaniel Gould, esq. ditto	1	1	0
Joseph Mayer, esq. ditto	1	1	0
J. R. Jobbins, esq. ditto	2	0	0
Albert Woods, esq.	2	2	0
George Godwin, esq.	2	2	0
Edward Priest Richards, esq.	2	2	0
John Wimbridge, esq.	1	1	0
Thomas Sherratt, jun., esq.	1	0	0
A lady	0	10	6
	£15	1	6

List of associates withdrawn in 1856 :

Michael Meredith, esq.	F. E. Mawe, esq.
M. F. Tupper, esq., F.R.S.	J. H. Rich, esq.
Richard Milward, esq.	Lord Edwin Hill
Thomas Beesley, esq.	Robert Sadd, esq.
George Austin, esq.	V. P. Sells, esq.
F. C. Lukis, esq., F.S.A.	Anthony Evans, esq.

Associates deceased in 1856 :

George Atherley, esq.	George Gwilt, esq., F.S.A.
John Barnett, esq.	Lord Scarborough.
Sampson Payne, esq.	

Associates elected in 1856 :

Hon. Thos. Erskine.	Henry Hockey Burnell, esq.
Thomas Hodgkin, M.D.	Edward Roberts, esq.
Coutts T. Arbuthnot, esq.	Colonel C. J. Kemys Tynte, M.P.
Major J. H. Reed, M.P.	Right hon. and right rev. lord
J. B. Collings, esq.	Auckland, bishop of Bath and
Patrick M'Dowall, esq., R.A.	Wells
J. H. Foley, esq., A.R.A.	R. Wilbraham Falconer, M.D.
Thomas Hughes, esq.	Capt. G. T. Scobell, R.N., M.P.
S. C. Tress Beale, esq., B.A.	Rev. H. M. Scarth, M.A.
Dudley Costello, esq.	C. K. Kemys Tynte, esq.
W. S. Woodin, esq.	William Long, esq.
Edward Dixon, esq.	Rev. Henry Street, M.A.
George Martin Hughes, esq.	Charles George Lewis, esq.
Thomas Wills, esq.	Joseph William Collins, esq.
Frank Babington Tussaud, esq.	Rev. J. E. Jackson, M.A., F.S.A.,
Francis Howard Taylor, esq.	canon of Gloucester
Robert Kell, esq.	William Stradling, esq.
Alfred Mew, esq.	W. Tite, esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
Miss Wallop	Thomas Brushfield, esq.
Sir Arthur Hallam Elton, bt., M.P.	Daniel Gurney, esq., F.S.A.
George Stokes, esq.	Reynolds Prendergast, esq.
Francis C. Drake, esq., F.S.A.	Thomas Jones Barker, esq.
Sir Peregrine P. F. Palmer Ac-	Thomas Henry Hovenden, esq.
land, bart.	W. D. Bush, esq.

Corresponding Members :

Mr. James Jeffrey, Bath
John Brent, jun., esq., F.S.A., Canterbury.

Mr. Ade moved, and Mr. Planché seconded, that the thanks of the meeting be given to the auditors for their full and satisfactory report. *Carried unanimously.*

Mr. Planché moved, and Mr. G. R. Wright seconded, a vote of thanks to the treasurer for his undeviating and valuable attention to the interests of the Association. *Carried unanimously.*

Mr. Pettigrew moved, and Mr. Gould seconded, that the recommendation of the council to remove the names of thirty-five associates in arrear of their subscriptions, be adopted, and that the names be printed in the *Journal*. *Carried unanimously.*

Major Moore moved, and Mr. Curle seconded, a resolution of thanks to the officers and council for their services during the past year. *Carried unanimously.*

Mr. Wansey moved, and Mr. Adams seconded, a resolution giving the thanks of the meeting to those gentlemen who had contributed papers, and made exhibitions of antiquities, to the society during the past year. *Carried unanimously.*

Mr. Turner moved, and Mr. Tucker seconded, a vote of thanks to those members who have contributed to the donation fund and to the illustration of papers in the *Journal*. *Carried unanimously.*

A discussion took place upon the report of the auditors, and the best means of liquidating the debt due to the treasurer, several gentlemen offering to subscribe for life, instead of making their annual subscriptions as hitherto; others expressing their willingness to make donations towards the same object; whilst a few were disposed to raise the sum required by lessening the expense of the *Journal* by abridging the number of its illustrations. The first proposition was, however, agreed to be acted upon, as the most satisfactory method, and referred to the council to be carried into effect.¹

A ballot was taken for officers and council for 1857-58, and Mr. G. R. Wright and Mr. Tucker nominated by the chairman as scrutators.

¹ The council have the greatest satisfaction in reporting that the recommendation to liquidate the debt due to the treasurer has been most readily responded to, and they hereby offer their best thanks to the following associates who have thus generously relieved the Association of every liability attaching to it:—George Ade, esq.; Charles Ainslie, esq.; John Alger, esq.; John Barrow, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.; Charles Curle, esq.; Cyrus A. Elliott, esq.; William Euing, esq.; William Forman, esq.; Nathaniel Gould, esq., F.S.A.; James Orchard Halliwell, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.; Walter Hawkins, esq., F.S.A.; George Vere Irving, esq.; John Lee, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.; W. Calder Marshall, esq., R.A.; Major J. Arthur Moore, F.R.S.; J. R. Planché, esq.; Thomas Richards, esq.; Edward Roberts, esq.; G. R. Wright, esq., F.S.A.; Alexander Zanzi, esq. The council embrace this opportunity also to state that they have made satisfactory arrangements to sustain the *Journal* in full illustration, by donations received from several members, which will be acknowledged in the next publication of the donation fund, to which the associates are invited more generally to subscribe, and thus ensure the efficiency of the quarterly publication.

The lists having been examined, the following report was delivered, the names announced, and the thanks of the meeting given to the scrutators.

PRESIDENT.

THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

SIR F. DWARRIS, F.R.S., F.S.A.	MAJOR J. A. MOORE, F.R.S.
GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.	T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.
JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A.	S. R. SOLLY, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.	SIR J. G. WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.

TREASURER.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.

SECRETARIES.

J. R. PLANCHÉ, *Rouge Croix* | H. SYER CUMING.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.—WILLIAM BEATTIE, M.D.

Palæographer.—W. H. BLACK.

Curator and Librarian.—GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A.

Draftsman.—HENRY CLARKE PIDGEON.

COUNCIL.

GEORGE G. ADAMS.	ROGER HORMAN-FISHER.
GEORGE ADE.	GEORGE VERE IRVING.
CHARLES AINSLIE.	WM. CALDER MARSHALL, R.A.
JOHN ALGER.	WM. MEYRICK.
JOHN BARROW, F.R.S., F.S.A.	DAVID ROBERTS, R.A.
HENRY H. BURNELL.	ALFRED THOMPSON.
GEORGE AUGUSTUS CAPE.	WILLIAM WANSEY, F.S.A.
CHARLES CURLE.	ALBERT WOODS, F.S.A., <i>Lancaster Herald</i> .
NATHANIEL GOULD, F.S.A.	

AUDITORS.

C. H. LUXMOORE, F.S.A. | J. G. PATRICK.

The chairman announced that the Congress for 1857 would be held in Norfolk, the society assembling at NORWICH on the 24th of August, and the meeting continued to the 29th inclusive. The cathedrals of Norwich and Ely will be visited and specially examined on this occasion.

The thanks of the meeting were then given by acclamation to the chairman for his obliging attention on this occasion, and for the various and important services rendered by him to the Association from its formation in 1843.

The following associates have been erased from the list of the Society in default of payment of their subscriptions :

A. Stubbs, Boulogne-sur-Mer	•	•	Nine years
Andrew Arcedekne, Glavering Hall, Suffolk	•	•	Eight ditto
Lord Hastings, Cavendish-square	•	•	ditto
William Newton, Newark	•	•	Six ditto
Evan Williams, Knighton	•	•	ditto

J. L. Allen, Artillery-place . . .	Five years
Alfred Eyre, Notting-hill . . .	ditto
J. Baker Hopkins, Mark-lane . . .	ditto
James Puttock, Holford-street . . .	ditto
Samuel Seawell, Mountford-terrace . . .	ditto
Rev. J. C. Ward, Great Russell-street . . .	ditto
Wykeham Wheeler, Shelton . . .	ditto
Rev. J. C. Broughton, M.A., Norbury . . .	ditto
W. Mansfield Cooper, Derby . . .	ditto
J. J. Cotman, Thorpe . . .	ditto
Thomas Dickson, Manchester . . .	ditto
Rev. J. R. Errington, M.A., Ashburne . . .	ditto
William Hirst, Derby . . .	ditto
William Harvey, F.S.A., Lewes . . .	ditto
James Middleton, F.S.A., St. Ann's, Hatton . . .	ditto
Charles Wickes, Leicester . . .	ditto
John Franklin, Thistle-grove, Old Brompton . . .	Four ditto
Colonel Galvagni . . .	ditto
C. R. Griffiths, Register Office, St. Martin's . . .	ditto
W. L. Horton . . .	ditto
J. G. Robinson, Gunter's-grove, Brompton . . .	ditto
Alfred Elwes, King's Arms-yard . . .	ditto
William Horley, Toddington . . .	ditto
Peter Healey, Clapham-road Place . . .	ditto
John Mathewes, Cloudesley-terrace . . .	ditto
J. M'Intosh, Taunton . . .	ditto
John Pace, Pall Mall . . .	ditto
Edmund C. Sidebotham, Manchester . . .	ditto
Josiah Varey, Bank-place, Bowden, Cheshire . . .	ditto.

OBITUARY FOR 1856.

BY THE TREASURER.

DURING the past year we have sustained the loss of five Associates by death. Of these, one had been with us from the commencement of our Association, a highly respected antiquary—GEORGE GWILT, esq., F.S.A. He was the elder son of a well known architect and surveyor, the builder of Horsemonger Lane Gaol and Newington Sessions House, and the surveyor for the county of Surrey. Mr. Gwilt, our late member, was born in 1775, and had consequently arrived at a good old age, having attained his 82nd year. He frequently attended our meetings, and contributed several exhibitions for our examination. Of one of these an account is given in the fifth volume of our Journal (pp. 343-346), relating to mediæval fictile vessels found in London. Mr. Gwilt was one of the few careful observers of the antiquities frequently turned up in the course of excavations made for sewers, foundation of buildings, &c., and of these he kindly gave us information. One of the principal works engaged upon by Mr. Gwilt, and connected with our pursuits, one in which he took the greatest interest, was the restoration of the choir and tower of St. Mary Overy, and the Lady Chapel connected with that edifice. This was completed by the aid of our late associate Thomas

Saunders, Esq., comptroller of the city of London, whose decease we had the melancholy task of recording in our obituary for 1854. It is due to Mr. Gwilt, to state that the professional direction and superintendence of the restoration of the Lady Chapel was undertaken and performed by him gratuitously,—an evidence of the antiquarian spirit by which he was distinguished, and an illustration of the interest he took in ancient buildings. This work was carried on during a considerable period, and completed in 1823. The attention bestowed by Mr. Gwilt on this labour is worthy of remembrance by architects, for he rigidly maintained the ancient style, copied the mouldings and details, and thus preserved the former expression and appearance of the chapel. Mr. Gwilt designed and executed the first ten Almshouses of Cure's College, St. Saviour, in Southwark, the iron gates of which have been admired as specimens of the mediæval style.

Mr. Gwilt's "Observations on the Church of St. Mary-le-Bow," were published in 1828, in the fifth volume of the "*Vetusta Monumenta*," and are well illustrated. Some of our members will recollect Mr. Gwilt attending us upon our examination of this celebrated church at one of the visits to the city made by our Association in 1851. The repairs to that church and the rebuilding of the upper part of the steeple were conducted by Mr. Gwilt. His literary and antiquarian labours do not, however, terminate with what has been now enumerated, for he sent various articles to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, relating to Winchester palace, Southwark, and other edifices; and he communicated occasionally with *The Builder*. He was a collector of London antiquities, particularly such as related to the Roman period, principally discovered in Southwark, the locality in which he resided. Many of these have been laid before us, particularly during the period he served on our council, in 1851. His life terminated on the 26th of June, 1856, and by special authority of the Secretary of State, he was buried in his own vault on the exterior of the south side of the choir of St. Saviour's.

GEORGE ATHERLEY, Esq., of Southampton, joined our Association in 1845, as a subscribing member, and forwarded to us occasional communications. He was descended from one of the most ancient families of Southampton, twice served the office of mayor, and was engaged in banking business. His brother, Arthur Atherley, represented Southampton in the first Reform Parliament. Mr. George Atherley possessed a collection of antiquities principally of a mediæval character, and they have been presented to the Literary and Scientific Institution of Southampton. His fine collection of seals relating to the county of Hants, was exhibited to the Association on occasion of their visit in 1855; and two of them, belonging to Quarr abbey, are at this time in the hands of the engraver for publication in our Journal. An enumeration of this

collection, drawn up by Mr. Atherley, consisting of 136 specimens, will be found in the Journal for 1855 (vol. xi., pp. 335-336).

In April 1849, Mr. Atherley forwarded to us an account of the discovery of some Saxon antiquities in a field near St. Mary's church, Southampton, which will be found in the Journal (vol. v., p. 162). Mr. Atherley was for a long time afflicted with severe indisposition, and was, indeed, unable to favour us with his presence when we met at Southampton. He was born in 1783, and died on the 13th March, 1856, at the age of 73 years.

SAMPSON PAYNE, Esq., was likewise twice mayor of Southampton, and in that capacity received the Association at its congress in 1855; entertaining the members and visitors with much hospitality on occasion of their visit to Netley abbey, and placing for our inspection all the regalia of the corporation, their deeds, charters, ancient MSS., &c. He was a native of Somersetshire, being born at Frome, March 5, 1800, and he died on the 22nd of May, 1856; and had, therefore, only completed his 56th year. He had resided at Southampton from 1842, and had endeared himself to the inhabitants by his kind, genial spirit, and his attention to the business of the corporation. Their testimony to his merits was given by re-electing him mayor in 1856; and by the general lamentation caused by his decease, which arose from a cold taken on occasion of his presiding for a public charity. His last official act was to give his personal security for £2000 to relieve the council of the corporation of Southampton out of some pecuniary difficulties. His funeral was a public one, attended by the corporation, magistrates, public and private associations, and most of the influential persons in the town in which he resided, and in which he died as their chief magistrate.

JOHN BARNETT, Esq., of Cheltenham, coroner for the Forest Division of Gloucestershire, was son of Henry Barnett, of Cobrey, near Ross, Herefordshire, and joined us on occasion of our Congress at Chepstow, in 1854. He took much interest in our progress, accompanied us in all our examinations, pointing out those objects with which he was acquainted, and strongly urged our paying another and special visit to Monmouth, and its immediate neighbourhood. He died on the 19th of March, 1856.

JOHN LUMLEY SAVILLE, VISCOUNT LUMLEY, BARON LUMLEY, and EARL of SCARBOROUGH, will be gratefully remembered by all those associates who, on occasion of our visiting Nottinghamshire, under the presidency of his grace the duke of Newcastle, in 1852, had the honour of receiving an invitation to Rufford abbey, where the Association was most elegantly received and entertained. His lordship was lord-lieutenant

of the county, and, prior to his accession to the peerage, represented Nottingham in Parliament. He was greatly pleased by the zeal we manifested in the examination of the antiquities of the county, and expressed his wish to become a member, and to offer his services in the promotion of our objects of research. John, earl of Scarborough, was the eighth earl, and descended from a family capable of being traced to a period considerably anterior to the Norman conquest. The surname of Lumley is derived from a small place on the banks of the Wear, in the county of Durham. His lordship expired at his family seat, Sandbeck park, near Tickhill, Yorkshire, on the 29th of October, 1856, at the age of 68 years.

Archæological Notices and Antiquarian Intelligence.

ANCIENT BRITISH HISTORY. The readers of this *Journal* are so well acquainted with the researches of the rev. Beale Poste, and its pages have been so frequently enriched by his valuable communications, that it is quite unnecessary to recommend to their perusal, and for their instruction, the work he has recently put forth.¹ A portion of the contents of this volume may be said to have already appeared in our pages; but the whole is here brought together in a connected form, and the reader is thereby enabled to embrace the views of the learned author on the recondite subject of which he treats. No less than twenty-one chapters have been found necessary to the full consideration of the ancient British historians; and the volume appears most opportunely, seeing that the government have at length resolved to provide for our country a general series of her early historians. In a parliamentary paper from the house of commons, bearing date March 9, 1857, is printed a correspondence which has taken place between the master of the rolls and the treasury respecting the publication of "materials for the history of Great Britain previously to the reign of Henry VIII". From this paper we learn that, upon the representation made to the chancellor of the exchequer by the rev. Joseph Stevenson, whose critical study of our ancient chronicles, through the publications of the English Historical Society, is well known to us, he is fully convinced that the sources of our national history are yet but imperfectly developed; that many of them are not yet printed, and exist only in manuscripts difficult of access; that, of those which have been printed, the texts are often based upon imperfect and incorrect copies; and that no satisfactory history of England can be written until the materials upon which it must be founded shall have been collected, systematized, and published. The treasury having referred the matter to the consideration of the master of the rolls (the custodian of the records of the kingdom), sir John Romilly has reported favourably; and the government have thereupon determined to enter upon the execution of the work, and to devote £3000 *per annum*, for ten years, to the expenses of the undertaking. The master of the rolls confirms

¹ *Britannia Antiqua; or Ancient Britain brought within the limits of Authentic History.* By the Rev. Beale Poste. London: J. R. Smith. 8vo. 1857.

the statement made by Mr. Stevenson, and writes thus : " I consider that the publication of the materials which exist for a complete history of this country (employing the term history in its widest sense, as evidencing the development of national progress, both political and social) during the period anterior to the reign of Henry VIII, is much wanted ; that it would be of the greatest value, and that it would confer great credit on the government of this country. It is an undoubted fact that this country possesses most valuable materials of this description, scarcely, if at all, accessible to the public ; and that the government of this country alone, amongst the governments of modern civilized nations, has taken no step to produce their early historical treasures, and render them known to the world. All persons will, I believe, concur in the desirableness of effecting this object." He further lays down the manner in which the work shall be conducted ; and it is judiciously recommended that the chronicles should be published whole, without mutilation or abridgement, and as separate works, but all uniform ; and for convenience, in 8vo. It is further recommended, that, as the best mode of accomplishing the work, distinct and separate portions should be allotted to separate and distinct editors, under the general direction of the master of the rolls, in a similar manner to that adopted for the formation and publication of " Calendars of the State Papers", recently put forth, and in progress of completion. The editors selected are to complete their works without superintendence, and on their own responsibility. Further, Mr. Duffus Hardy, the succeeding editor to Mr. Petrie, of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, is to be employed in the formation and publication of a chronological catalogue of all the historical annals and pieces connected with the history of England, in which all the information necessary for determining the historical value of each piece, not merely with regard to the facts of history, but also to the general progress of the country, social as well as political, should be added, for the guidance of the reader.

From the particulars thus detailed it will be seen that Mr. Poste's book appears at an advantageous time, and must command attention. The first two chapters of the *Britannia Antiqua* embrace a critical investigation, and form a vindication, of the histories of Asser, Gildas, and Nennius, and of the ancient British poets, in opposition to the opinions of Mr. Thomas Wright, which Mr. Poste considers were formed at an early part of that gentleman's literary career, and not duly reconsidered since. The third chapter enters upon the contributions to the earlier part of British history of the sixth century, comprising the life, reign, and acts of king Arthur, by many regarded as little more than a fabrication of the troubadours. Mr. Poste has bestowed great labour on this part of his work, and collected together everything calculated to throw light upon the subject, and to establish a claim for the

existence and conduct of the "British King." Following this period, Mr. Poste gives some valuable illustrations respecting the ancient sea-coast of Britain, after which he proceeds to treat of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, which he regards as defective in the chronological abstract, considering it "extensively erroneous, theorizing, and unfaithful." He justly laments the omission of an 'Index Nominum,' which is surely a serious defect. This publication is indeed open to many objections, which have, however, been stated in the *Edinburgh Review*, from the pen of Sir Francis Palgrave, and by others. It has also been subjected to the critical examination of the master of the rolls, and the errors in regard to its arrangement and execution have been so fully pointed out, as to lead us to hope they will be carefully avoided in all future publications.

In the remaining chapters Mr. Poste brings together a great variety of curious and important information in relation to the emblems and memorials of the early Christians in Britain, and proofs to shew that Constantine the Great was born in Britain. He considers the Belgic Gauls in Britain, and remarks upon their craniology; whence he proceeds to treat of the Roman strategical works in central Britain, or the chain of intrenched camps formed against the Icenii, which leads him to a special consideration of the Roman walled towns in Britain, an exceedingly interesting chapter. Notes on the history and career of Carausius display Mr. Poste on his favourite ground, followed by speculations in regard to the Attacotti of Britain, or the *Bellicosa hominum natio* of Ammianus Marcellinus; and details from various sources relating to the career of Aurelius Ambrosius. The remarks on the nature and scope of Celtic titular names, no less than those on the name Vitalis, as occurring in various Romano-British inscriptions, may be read with advantage, and an interesting discourse gives an account of the various MSS., still extant in public libraries, purporting to be the works of Richard de Cirencester. Other biographical considerations connected with the ancient accounts of Britain, occupy Mr. Poste's attention, and his work concludes with a chapter of miscellanea, embracing observations on history, geography, ethnology, numismatics, &c., in connexion with his subject. From this hasty view of the work, it will be obvious that our pages do not allow space sufficient for a specification of the several heads under which Mr. Poste has regarded his subject: to extract would be useless,—the whole must be read in connexion, and we earnestly recommend its study to our associates. We congratulate our respected associate upon the publication of his labours, as it exhibits another monument of his industry and learning. He puts forth his opinions with great earnestness and confidence, yet modestly maintains them; they must therefore of necessity command the attention of all who are interested in the development of historical and antiquarian researches.

ST. ALBAN'S ABBEY. The rev. Dr. Nicholson, whose taste for archæological research, and zeal in promoting the restoration of the abbey of St. Alban, are well known, has just put forth a second edition of his *Abbey of St. Alban*.¹ It does not profess to be a history, and yet it is more than a guide. It is intended chiefly for the use of visitors, but may be read with advantage by others, who will not fail to be enlightened by its perusal upon some points of ecclesiastical history, and instructed in regard to the nature and extent of the original building. The extracts given in relation to the history of the abbey have been derived from manuscripts contained in the Cottonian, Harleian, Arundel, and Lansdown collections in the British Museum; also at Lambeth palace, the College of Arms, the Bodleian Library, the library of Magdalen college, Oxford, Trinity college, Jesus and Corpus Christi, Cambridge; and an useful list of references to the manuscripts and printed books is annexed, to assist such as may be desirous to look more particularly into its history. Eight churches in England bear the name of St. Alban, the *protomartyr*, as he is usually styled. A catalogue (incomplete) with short notices of the forty abbots, commencing with Willegod, appointed by Offa, and terminating with Boreman, who surrendered the abbey to the crown in 1539, is given, and will be read with interest. The *feretrum*, or reliquary, made by order of the abbot, Geoffrey, to contain the bones of the martyr, is represented beneath; and on plate 22, the seals of the abbots Symon or Symeon (fig. 1), John de Hertford (figs. 2 and 3), and the conventual seal (fig. 4) delivered to the visitors appointed by the crown upon the



¹ The Abbey of St. Alban. Some Extracts from its early History, and a Description of its Conventual Church. Lond. 1857; 8vo. Bell and Daldy.



Fig. 1.



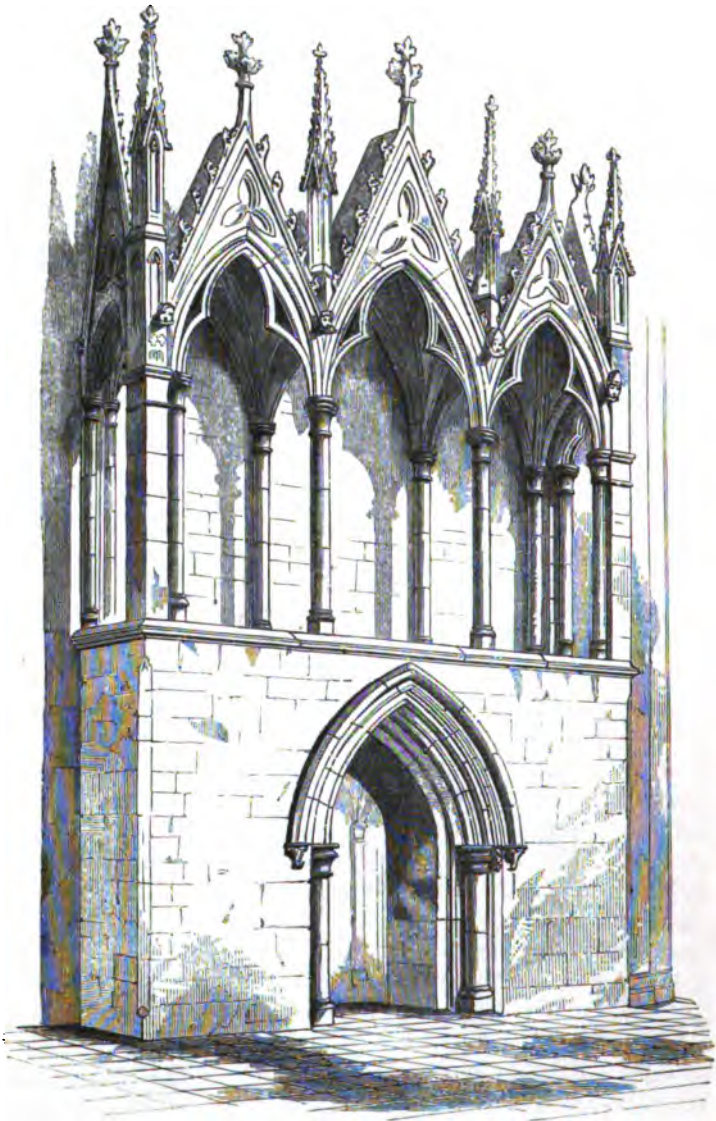
Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



ANCIENT DOORWAY AT ST. ALBAN'S.

surrender of the abbey. This seal is of ivory, and now to be seen in the British Museum.

Printing was introduced into the monastery in 1480, and the press of St. Alban is recognized as being the third employed in this kingdom. The first book which emanated from it is the *Rhetorica Nova Fratris Laurencii Gulielmi de Saona*, and bears the date of 1480. *The Cronicles of Englode with the frute of tymes*, was printed in 1483; and the celebrated *Boke of St. Albans*, by dame Juliana Barnes (otherwise Berners), in 1486.

A good description of the abbey, exteriorly and interiorly, is given; and the foregoing illustration of an ancient doorway, and structure of much interest (see plate 23). These were discovered and put together by Mr. Gilbert Scott. Some remains having been observed of a structure in the choir, projecting from the south wall, under the first arch from the tower, the panelling was removed, and the fragments found lying in a Norman doorway in the wall. The work is conjectured by Dr. Nicholson to have been that of abbot Norton, a few years before the death of queen Eleanor. The architecture corresponds with that period. All remains of the body of St. Alban have long since disappeared from the abbey; and Dr. Nicholson conceives "it is not an unlikely circumstance to have attended the dissolution of a monastery, that some devout member of the fraternity, seeing the storm ready to burst, removed the relics to an asylum known only to himself and a few associates; and the remembrance of the asylum and of the relics died with them." (p. 45.)

A woodcut of the seal, found near the site of the saint's shrine in 1849

(exhibited to our Association¹ by Mr. S. R. Solly, V.P., in 1851), ornaments Dr. Nicholson's work (p. 46). It belongs to the early part of the twelfth century, and exhibits the military equipment of the period.



An altar was lately laid open in the east wall of the chapel, under the northernmost of three arches walled up at the Reformation. The remains give a figure, which has been covered with glass, of an archbishop, in distemper, bearing the name **STVS**

WILLMVS. He was archbishop of York A.D. 1140 to 1154, son of lord Herbert by Emma of Blois, sister to king Stephen, and canonized by

¹ See Journal, vol. vii, p. 173.

Honorius in 1226. Varieties are known to exist in the representation of the arms of this saint; but those attributed to the present figure agree precisely with the coat borne by the Fitzwilliam family.

Dr. Nicholson has given an account of the several brasses still remaining, among which should be mentioned that of the abbot De la Mere, of Flemish workmanship, and similar in design to that of Robert Hallum, bishop of Salisbury, in the cathedral of Constance, where he died in 1419.

From what has been thus briefly noticed, it will be apparent that much matter has been brought within the compass of a few pages, upon subjects of considerable interest to the historian and archæologist.

ENGLISH HISTORY. In a previous number of this *Journal* (vol. x, p. 112) we drew the attention of our readers to the first volume of an useful work recently put forth by Mr. Parker of Oxford.¹ That volume carried us down to the last of the Plantagenets, since the publication of which two others have been printed, and the work brought to a conclusion with the death of Anne and the accession of the house of Brunswick. The general care with which the work has been produced, and the manner in which MS. authorities have been rendered available, reflect credit on the compiler; and we may now feel ourselves to be in possession of a correct and judicious manual of English history, in the small compass of three volumes, 12mo.

The second volume, commencing with the house of Lancaster, and terminating with Charles I, offers a variety of interesting illustrations. Numerous arms and badges are depicted: so also in the third volume to which is attached an appendix enumerating the writers on English history, lists of printed chronicles, historical collections, English and foreign. The *Monumenta Historica Britannica* receives due notice, as well as the publications by the government, Domesday Book, the rolls and statutes of the realm. References are also given to the historical publications by recent societies, the Historical, Camden, Hakluyt, Surtees, and Parker; the Bannatyne and Maitland clubs, as well as the Irish Archæological society. An index of statutes is of value, and likewise a collection of notes and illustrations relating to the hierarchy of the Reformation, the Scottish hierarchy, etc. Useful as these references unquestionably are, it would have been desirable to have extended the selection to various publications and journals, which appear to have been singularly overlooked. Should another edition be demanded, we trust these deficiencies will be supplied, and we would refer to our own pages as a source whence many valuable additional historical references might have been obtained.

¹ The Annals of England. 3 vols., 12mo. 1855-7.

BATTLE FIELDS OF ENGLAND. Inquiries directed in relation to the most celebrated battle fields of England cannot but be of special interest to the reader of English history; and it was a happy thought of Mr. Brooke¹ to associate with these memorials of the past such archæological notices as might serve, not merely to explain various circumstances attending these conflicts, but also by a display of the arts, etc., of the periods to exhibit also the means possessed by the combatants for the execution of their martial exploits. The work commences with the battle of SHREWSBURY, as a prelude to those of the wars of the houses of York and Lancaster. In 1403, in the reign of Henry IV, the battle of Shrewsbury was fought; and in 1487, in the reign of Henry VII, that of Stoke, which finally discomfited the house of York. The scantiness of authentic records during the reigns of Henry VI, Edward IV, and Richard III, has been a constant matter of complaint among antiquaries; and to whatever cause it may be ascribed, is at all events a subject of much regret. Mr. Brooke has taken great pains, by frequent personal examination of the scenes of action, by a comparison of the conflicting statements of old writers, and by a consideration of the traditions which have been handed down to us, to bring together such information as shall enable us to form somewhat of a satisfactory opinion in relation to them. Those statements have, from time to time, been laid by him before the Society of Antiquaries, and some have appeared in the *Archæologia*. They are now presented to the public with emendations, and additions that cannot but prove acceptable. To the historical papers, Mr. Brooke has appended some archæological essays on the general use of fire-arms by the English in the fifteenth century; the history of Wilmslow church, Handford Hall, and Cheadle church in Cheshire; on the office of keeper of the royal menagerie in the reign of Edward IV; and on the probable period of the extirpation of wolves in England.

A representation of Battlefield church, erected by Henry IV to commemorate his victory, obtained July 21, 1403, over Henry Percy, so well known as Hotspur, forms an appropriate frontispiece to the volume. The church is dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, the battle having been fought on the eve of that saint's day. In its architecture will be found specimens of Gothic, Decorated, and Perpendicular. It is not large, but handsome; and its battlemented tower, reported to have been erected in 1504, is deserving of commendation. It has, however, been a ruin for a long period—roofless and dilapidated—yet covered with moss, and venerable in its appearance. The tracery work of the windows yet remains, also the exterior walls and the mullions. The chancel is still used for divine service, and has been separated from the nave by a comparatively modern wall. The east window is handsome, and contains some stained glass.

¹ Visits to Fields of Battle in England, of the 15th Century, etc. By Richard Brooke, esq., F.S.A. London: R. Smith. 8vo., 1857.

Orate pro animabus Rogeri, forming part of an inscription, is still to be seen, and may be regarded as referring to Roger Ive, the clerk, who obtained a charter or license from Henry IV, for a small college at this place, and to which the king was a benefactor. (See Dugdale, *Monast.*, vi, p. 1426, and Lelandi *Itiner.*, iv, fol. 181a. Mr. Duke gives the seal of the college in his *Antiquities of Shropshire*, p. 34.) In a niche on the outside of the church, over the great window, is a statue of Henry IV in armour. It is now mutilated; but there is a portion of the crown remaining, and a dagger on the right side. The figure is about half-size of life. The right hand, which, it may be assumed, held a sword, has disappeared. The dilapidated state of the nave is attributed to the zeal of the Puritans in the time of the Commonwealth. With regard to the spot on which it is erected, Mr. Brooke is disposed to conceive that, as it is one at rather an inconvenient distance from the highway, and in a lonely place, no village being even near it, nor carriage-road passing by it, it is likely to have been selected from being the spot in which the battle raged with the greatest ardour, or where the king escaped some imminent danger, or where Percy was slain. These conjectures are deserving of attention; and reference to Leland and others leaves us much in the dark in regard to the precise site of the battle: the discovery of large masses of human bones, the probable remains of those slain in the conflict, found upon digging deep on the north side of the chancel, giving support to the opinion that the church has been built upon the spot where the battle was fought. This is about three miles and a quarter in a north-west direction from Shrewsbury; and Mr. Brooke has displayed much discrimination in marking out the probable line of march of the insurgent forces when advancing towards Shrewsbury,—points of information not to be acquired from the old annalists or chroniclers. Mr. Brooke notices one remarkable singularity connected with the church and the college of Roger Ive, which is, that they apparently stood in a square place enclosed by a moat: “A moat (he says) regularly formed, and as straight as a canal, exists at a short distance from the east end of the church, except at one small spot near the centre, which appears to have been filled up in order to admit of the path to the church; and it turns with an abrupt angle at each end, and extends a considerable distance on the north and south sides of the church” (p. 17). He was unable, however, to trace its existence on the west side, or to discover whether it had ever completely encompassed the church.”

The field of the battle of BLORE HEATH, fought in 1459, at Market Drayton in Shropshire, and in Staffordshire, in which lord Audley (on the Lancastrian side) was slain, is next pointed out; and followed by that of NORTHAMPTON, July 9, 1460, in which the king's army was defeated and he taken prisoner. Mr. Brooke has been unable to detect any remains of intrenchments; but there yet is sufficient evidence to

establish the site on which the conflict took place : it was close to Northampton, in the meadows on the south side of the town.

The battle of **WAKEFIELD** was fought on the last day of the same year, and the duke of York slain. His head was, with others, fixed on the walls of York, and distinguished by a paper crown, in derision of his claims to the throne. Wakefield Green is the spot on which the battle took place. It is now enclosed, and several portions built upon. Bones, swords, spears, etc., have been exhumed, confirmatory of the fact.

To Wakefield succeeds the battle of **MORTIMER'S CROSS**, Feb. 2, 1461. It was fought near to the spot whence it derives its name, between Leominster and Wigmore. Here Edward IV defeated the Lancastrians, and avenged the death of his father, and the cruelties exercised by the Yorkists on the young earl of Rutland and others. Mortimer's Cross, Mr. Brooke tells us, is not a village, but merely consists of a respectable country inn, called the "Mortimer's Cross Inn", and one or two other houses, at a junction of four roads; where, in former times, a cross is said to have been erected by one of the Mortimers; but it has long been removed, and Mr. Brooke could not learn that it had been there within the memory of man (p. 75). Edward IV was proclaimed king at Westminster, March 5, 1461.

The battle of **TOWTON** is generally admitted to have been one of the most sanguinary during the civil wars; and to determine the precise position of the combatants, Mr. Brooke has paid many visits to the locality. The battle was fought on the 29th March, 1461, lasted ten hours, and terminated in the defeat of the Lancastrians. Many relics have, at various times, been discovered, and are duly recorded by Mr. Brooke.

The battle field of **TEWKESBURY**, May 4, 1471, has received no less attention from our author. He has paid six visits to the spot, and gives minute particulars in relation to this memorable battle.

The battle of **BOSWORTH** is not the least in interest, by the death of Richard III, the last of the Plantagenet kings, August 22, 1485. By this event Henry VII ascended the throne of England. Mr. Hutton's account of the battle has been duly recognized by Mr. Brooke, and to it he has added some further particulars of interest. It is erroneous to regard this as the last of the battles of the rival houses of York and Lancaster, the last being that of **STOKE**, in Notts, three miles south of Newark. It was contested by the earl of Lincoln against the king; and by its result the throne of England was secured to the house of the Tudors.

Two other battle fields are described by Mr. Brooke, those of **EVEHAM** and **BARNET**: the former dates Aug. 4, 1265 (*temp.* Henry III); the latter, April 14, 1471 (Edward IV).

The use of cannon in sieges, by the English, during the reign of Edward III, is well known; but it is not so clearly ascertained whether

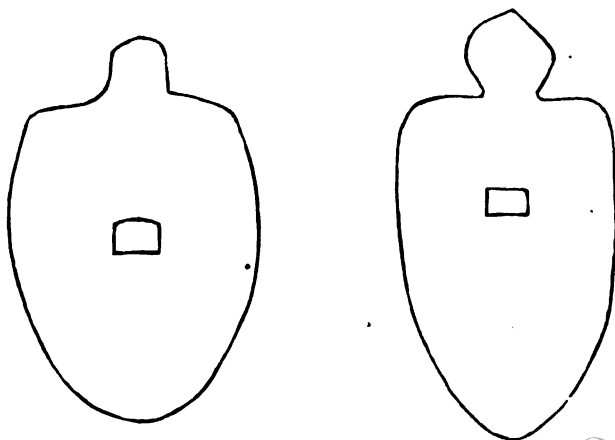
they were employed in the open field. The defective construction of those implements of war, and the remarkable silence of both French and English historians on the subject, tend to support the negative of the proposition; though opinions favourable to the employment of those instruments have been advanced by esteemed antiquaries. Mr. Brooke boldly steps forth to shew that, in the fifteenth century, fire-arms of various descriptions and sizes were in general use by the English as principal and important military weapons; that they appear seldom to have undertaken any warlike expedition of magnitude without them; that they constantly attacked and defended towns and fortresses with them; that they used them in the open field; and also, that there is some evidence of guns being in use even on shipboard. The English (he says), as early as in the middle of that century, were sometimes armed with portable guns, or small arms, then called hand-coulverines, or hand-guns; and they are expressly mentioned by Monstrelet by the name of "coulverines à main"; and he states that they were reserved to the English, at Caen, in 1450, when they capitulated under the duke of Somerset (p. 217). Grose assigns a later date (1471) as that of their introduction. Mr. Brooke gives a valuable collection of chronological references, extending throughout the fifteenth century, to shew the use of cannon; and these may be consulted with advantage as authorities upon the point. The indefinite use of the terms artillery, engine, etc., however, leaves this interesting point still doubtful and uncertain.

Other antiquarian papers, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, the Cheshire and Lancashire Historical Society, etc., complete this interesting volume, which is appropriately illustrated by plans of the battle-fields of Shrewsbury, Towton, and Stoke. Seven appendices are furnished, giving extracts from acts of attainder connected with the historical particulars detailed in the work, which we have much pleasure in recommending to the notice of our readers.

ROMAN LEAD MINES AND VILLA IN SHROPSHIRE. Excavations have been recently made at Linley Hall, the seat of the rev. J. F. More, and an account given of the Roman lead mines in the parish of Shelve, by Mr. Thos. Wright. The locality is peculiarly interesting, and abounds with antiquities of various kinds, belonging to many different periods. It was the principal spot for the mining operations of the Romans, subsequently the favourite resort of the princes of Mercia, and in the middle ages became conspicuous as the seat of feudal power and civilization in our country. In the neighbourhood, at a place called Eaton, a tumulus or barrow had been cut through by workmen, and a quantity of burnt matter, with human bones, several rude, imperfectly baked urns, ornamented with zig-zag patterns, now so familiar to British antiquaries, were found. These urns (now in fragments), found with their mouths

downwards (which is their usual position), have been collected together, and are preserved, by the rev. J. Rogers, of Home, at a short distance from the barrow. The lead district is in the parish of Shelve; and at the end of Shelve Hill is the White Grit mine. At the top of the hill the ancient workings of the Romans become visible, and they are found all along the western side. Many tumuli are here apparent, scattered over the hills; also entrenchments of various kinds, upright stones, and others assuming circular forms. Mr. Wright makes mention of an interesting example of this kind, in the middle of a wild expanse of heath, at about a quarter of a mile to the west of the high-road, which runs along the side of Shelve Hill, and which is known by the name of the Hoar Stone,—a name of course applicable to the centre stone, around which are to be seen a circle of twenty-nine smaller stones.

On the face of the hill the operations of the Romans are to be seen; and it is the opinion of Mr. Wright that the mines had not been worked during the middle ages. The veins of metal are sometimes almost vertical. There are seven cropped out on the western face of Shelve Hill; and the Romans, according to Mr. Wright, who found the metal on the surface, began at each spot where it appeared, and followed it into the hill as deep as they could trace it, or as they could go, by the means they possessed of breaking into or through the rock. Some of the mines are evidently filled up with the broken rock, while others look like attempts to sink shafts, which, however, had not been carried out. Many antiquities of Roman character have here been met with, and Mr. More possesses a pig of lead carrying the stamp of the imperial works, from the inscription on which we learn the period of its working. It is of the time of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138), and the inscription reads, IMP: HADRIANI: AVG. It weighs 190 lbs. Two wooden spades employed by the miners have also been found, of the following shape.



They are of oak, about half an inch thick, cloven roughly with some wedge-shaped tool, and not smoothed. The handles are small, and indicate the manner in which the instruments were employed. The square hole in the spade is bevelled backwards, and Mr. Wright suggests its object to be for introducing a staff to act as a lever where force might be required. They are in such extraordinary preservation that doubts have not unreasonably been entertained in regard to their antiquity; but they are stated to have been found several feet under the crushed stones of the Roman mines, and in a very dry position.

The Roman villa is situated at the northern end of the avenue leading to Mr. More's park, and has been excavated owing to the appearance of Roman tile, etc., denoting its character. A very little amount of labour sufficed to bring to light a room, or, as would appear from a part of a cross-wall, rather two small rooms, with the remains of hypocausts by which they had been warmed. They are thus described by Mr. Wright: "In the division to the west the floor had been supported by the usual pillars of large square tiles, of which the lower tiles of each pillar remained in their places, but the rest had been broken up. In the other division, which lay eastward, the floor had been supported on short pillars of roughly-squared stones instead of tiles, and a large square piece of the floor of cement they supported remained *in situ*, and separated in such a manner from the walls, that it did not appear as if it had originally joined to them. The space between it and the walls, however, was narrow, and may have been filled up with flue-tiles, etc. When first opened, quantities of flue-tiles, roof-tiles, and pieces of smooth stucco from the walls, lay thickly scattered about. The floor of the hypocausts lay from three to four feet under the present surface of the ground, which is uneven; but the floor of the rooms was, to judge by the piece remaining, but a few inches under the surface." Mr. More has traced, for a distance of forty feet, a strong stone wall, two and a half feet thick; a strong drain; and a pipe formed of flue-tiles, of a curious construction, made for the purpose of fitting together. The remains of the fires made in the hypocausts have been found. In the park another wall, in the same line of direction, extending to a length of one hundred yards, and other evidences of buildings of some extent, have been made out, together with the remains of an aqueduct pointing towards a pool, conjectured to have been originally a Roman reservoir, which, it is to be hoped, may be minutely examined. Mr. More is, we believe, continuing to excavate; and from that which is above related, it is probable that his expenditure of time will be well repaid by the probable discovery of a settlement of some importance connected with the Romans in this country.

The researches are going on, and will be communicated to, and published in, the journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

SEPTEMBER 1857.

ON THE BISHOP'S PALACE AT WELLS.

BY C. E. DAVIS, ESQ., F.S.A.

As it would probably occupy too much time were I to enter upon a minute or entire description of the palace at Wells, I purpose, on the present occasion, to confine myself to a brief general account introductory to particularizing those points which appear to me to have been hitherto unattended to, and are yet deserving of our study and attention. The bishop's palace is a building altogether of much interest, constituted by a lofty embattled wall with bastion towers. It surrounds an area of not less than fourteen acres. A moat, about eighteen feet in width, encloses and protects it, filled with ever-flowing water obtained from St. Andrew's well. On the north side there is a fortified gate-house, which gives to it the appearance of a castle or fortress. Britton has given a representation of it as it appeared before the time of Edward VI, when it suffered demolition under the hands, and by the direction, of sir John Gates, who purchased the palace for its materials. The palace had been surrendered by bishop Barlow into the hands of Edward VI, who bestowed it upon the duke of Somerset, whence it went to Gates, who stripped the great hall of its lead and timber for sale. During Cromwell's protectorship it was preserved from further violence; but falling into the hands of the celebrated religious fanatic, Cornelius Burgess, he stripped it of the remaining lead, timber, and everything moveable, and conveyed those materials to the deanery, which then formed

his residence. It was again repaired, by bishop Piers, in the reign of Charles II; and in the present century bishop Beadon and bishop Law made many restorations and improvements, allowing, however, the great hall to go to ruin. Its foundation is attributed to a period as early as 1088, and many bishops have doubtless contributed to its erection, one of the earliest named being Joceline Trotman de Welles. In the *Picturesque Antiquities of English Cities*, by the late lamented Mr. Britton, published in 1830, there are some excellent illustrations of this edifice, exhibiting in its decayed state a melancholy grandeur.

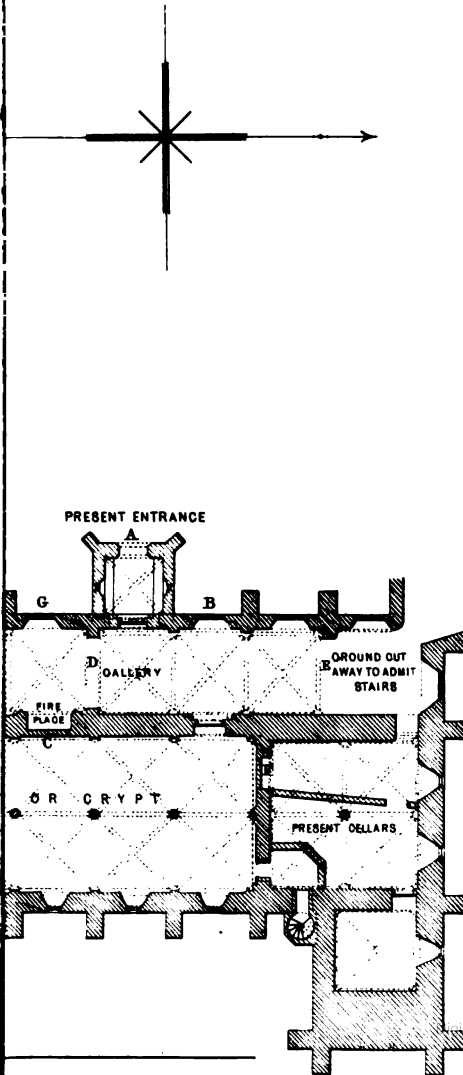
I shall now proceed to the consideration of some particulars which, to the antiquarian architect at least, must be of much interest:—The entrance (see plate 24A) gateway was erected by bishop Beckington in 1453. It has an arch groined, well ornamented with bosses. It is sculptured with the bishop's arms and his well known rebus. (See plate 10, fig. 1, *ante*.) Over the arch is a room in which the records of Wells cathedral are deposited. The gateway is flanked by octagonal towers, and protected by a drawbridge. In the eastern tower is a partial oriel, of the time of James I.

Towards the centre of the area, surrounded by the moat, stretches north and south the original palace. It is connected on the north-west with the later chapel and ruins, and on the north with a range of buildings belonging to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, that reach quite to the moat. These are, however, greatly shorn of their past magnificence, much having disappeared; but that which remains is strictly picturesque. With the exception of Mr. Britton's work before mentioned, and that by Mr. Parker, on *Domestic Architecture*, I can find no account of the palace which at all describes the probable disposition of the apartments of the original building. Having, however, carefully examined the present remains, during and subsequent to the late Congress, as far as the limited time at my disposal would permit me, I am perfectly satisfied that the earliest portion still to be seen is that which is now used as the entrance, and called the crypt. This is decidedly Early English in the details, and has lancet windows in the greater part of the basement.

The old palace consisted of a block of building stretch-

S PALACE WELLS

S.A.



ing north and south, with a square projection to the east at the north end, and was raised upon a basement story which was entirely groined. (See plate 24.)

The extent of this building and its exterior walls still remain, few alterations having been made in the original basement story, which is now occupied, and divided into a long gallery, to the west, from end to end, with a staircase to the north, to admit which the groining of one bay has been cut away: a large hall, two bays in width, groined upon four central shafts; a cellar, two bays square, with one central pillar; and another cellar, one bay square, groined,—forming the eastern projection.

The entrance to the whole is by a modern porch and arch into the fourth bay, from the south of the gallery. Undoubted indications show that this story was originally divided into six apartments, of which the present gallery, of seven bays, includes three; whilst the hall, or crypt, and two cellars, as at present arranged, constitute the remaining three.

Across the gallery, northwards, was an apartment of one bay, and then came an area of three bays, through the exterior wall of which was the entrance (the arch stones being still in the wall). This doorway was immediately opposite the entrance to the central hall, or crypt, which still remains, and has a plain but beautiful Early English doorway well moulded with hood mould, and two Purbeck columns which have now plain caps. To the south of this area and the three remaining bays was a third apartment, which communicated with the central hall by a plain recessed Early English doorway in the northern bay, now walled up; and also with the chapel by a doorway placed angularly across the north-western corner. It is not easy to determine whether this formed the ancient arrangement; but I feel disposed to think it did, as the groining ribs and vaulting corbel are made to accommodate themselves to the irregular plan. This portion of the gallery now possesses a perpendicular chimney-piece of rather rude work, situated in the division wall between the hall. Whether this chimney-piece replaced one of early design, in a similar position, it were difficult now to say; but I am inclined to think that the flue existed from the earliest period, though it is possible that the fireplace

itself may have warmed the hall or crypt. The division between these apartments is now entirely cut away; and it is only by viewing the different widths of the gallery, the varied arrangements of the groining, arching ribs, and piers, together with the flat, soffited arches in the position of the division walls, that the original arrangement can be discovered. The whole is now lighted by two light tre-foiled Decorated windows in each bay.

The hall, or crypt, is a fine apartment, and maintains its original form and arrangement in almost every respect. It measures 69 by 27 feet, and has a light and even elegant appearance.

The roof is groined, and stands upon four central Purbeck marble pillars; and the springers from the walls are moulded as the caps, with the termination at bottom, common to the Early English style: these start from a projection from the wall of a portion of what appears, at first sight, to be a segment of an octagon pier; this, however, is not the case, as it is merely a projection to allow of a greater width to the hall. The exterior wall to each bay is pierced by single lancet windows, which appear never to have been disturbed since the foundation of the building. Northward of this hall, of the same width, two bays square, with a central column, is a large cellar, which corresponds in every particular with the details of the hall, having the same windows and arch mouldings. Approached from this is a smaller cellar, under the present study, of one groin, with ribs springing from the angular vaulting caps. The cellars are now approached from beneath the principal staircase; but the only means of reaching them must have been from the north end of the hall, the recess of the doorway still remaining. A portion of these cellars has been cut away, to allow of a staircase leading to a study; but this does not form any part of the original work.

The whole of the basement story is Early English in style; and the caps, groining, etc., are of one general detail, marking distinctly that no one apartment was at all subservient to the other.

The floor above is now approached by an interior staircase; but this was not formerly the case, for I detect the remains of a jamb of an exterior door, richly ornamented

with the dog-tooth ornament, immediately above the third bay from the south of the gallery. This doorway was, in all probability, approached by an open exterior staircase; but, if the entrance to the lower story was protected by a porch, then this staircase would necessarily be covered: but this is scarcely probable. The first story is now much altered from the original design, and in some parts has, indeed, a second story added; but it is easy to account for the general disposition of the apartments.

The area above the large crypt was the great hall, with the dais at the northern end. From this an approach was obtained to a state chamber, or solar, occupying the space of the present dining-room, or rather the area above the large cellars. In the east of this was a chamber, square in plan, which I am disposed to believe was an oratory. Opposite this, to the west, was an apartment of somewhat similar size, probably a bedroom, or wardrobe; and another chamber, occupying the areas of the three bays of the gallery, beneath. The whole of this was approached from an inner porch, the entrance door being at one end, to the west, as previously described, and the door to the hall probably at the other end.

None of the original windows exist, if we except a pretty Decorated two-light window, trefoil-headed, with wide mullion between, with plain splays surmounted by a quatrefoil of large size, exceeding in diameter what would be comprised by two perpendicular lines drawn through lower lights, which lighted, through the north wall, the chamber west of the solar.

It is difficult to say how the chimneys were placed; but I am inclined to suppose that there were two chimney-pieces on this floor: one in the centre of the west wall of the hall, and the other in the same position in the solar.

The arrangement of the roofs and north and south windows can easily be traced from the position of the buttresses, which still exist all along the eastern side. They are very fine, bold features in the buildings; are divided into three stages, acutely weathered in two set-offs in courses, the upper portion rising up as a pilaster, under a projecting tabling, which is again supported by moulded corbels. This originally received the parapet; but at present the roof has projecting eaves. The buttresses are

coupled at the angles. The hall and solar were surmounted by a span roof throughout the whole extent, and the western portion, probably, by a smaller roof, of similar arrangement: the chapel, with a roof at right angles to the main building.

It would be difficult to assign names to the several apartments on the ground floor; but I may venture to suggest that the crypt was a hall for the more humble recipients of the bounties of the palace, as well as occasionally for a kitchen; the other apartments, the buttery, larder, pantry, and cellar. The date of the buildings is also somewhat a matter of conjecture, as the means of judging of the erection of the various styles is mostly derived from strictly ecclesiastical buildings, and those of a domestic character are so different in their arrangements, that the same "scale" can scarcely be applied to define a date; but as the chapel in immediate proximity to this building is reputed to have been built during the time of bishop Joceline de Welles, and is of decidedly later date, I am inclined to believe the residence just described to have been the work of his predecessor Savaric, consecrated bishop of Wells 1192, and deceased in 1205.

Attached to the south-western corner of these buildings is the chapel (52 ft. by 26 ft.), to which, as previously described, there is a communication from the gallery. It stands east and west, and is of three bays simply groined, with good bosses in the centre springing from vaulting shafts of Purbeck marble, crowned by capitals of beautiful and varied design. The eastern window is of six lights, the most prominent member of each mullion having foliated caps, as is the case in all the other windows; but on the exterior these caps are moulded. The tracery of this window is not refined, the arc being segmental, and the design is simply a centre wheel slightly foliated with eight curves, between curves of the same radius right and left.

The position of the original altar is now occupied by a reredos, not in good keeping, although it is evidently taken from the sedilia which occupies the area under the raised sill of the window on the south side in the easternmost bay. The sedilia is formed of four arches, supported by Purbeck columns standing on the stone seat which is

raised in four stages; the arches are somewhat plain, but still beautiful, and are acutely pointed; the spandrels, as well as the inner moulding of arches, are partially foliated.

The three windows to the north and south are of three designs, each window corresponding with its antagonist; they are very acutely pointed and all of three lights, the centre light being the widest. The tracery in all is strictly geometrical and much superior to the east window. The sill of the western angle of the window, to the south, in the western bay, is arched to admit of a doorway, now walled up.

The western window is of five lights and is singularly poor in design, there being no tracery; each light is stilted, one above the other, to the highest point; it is a work of comparatively late date. Beneath this window is the principal entrance to the chapel. It is a low but somewhat wide archway, well moulded, and decorated upon the interior by double recessed foliated escoinson arches.

The exterior is surmounted by a low battlement parapet, with angular octagonal turrets also battlemented, but the summit of the north western is covered by a rude arrangement of a bell-cot. The turret against the angle of the palace is occupied by a staircase running round a newel, the shaft springing from a moulded base. Half-way up on the eastern side is a square doorway (now walled up) communicating with the exterior, the hinges and newel of the doorway remain. I am unable to account for this doorway, but I think it probable that it formed an entrance to a wooden pulpit or stage for the purpose of addressing an audience on the exterior. A stone pulpit of a similar arrangement exists at Magdalen College, Oxford.

This chapel, and the palace I have described, appear to have been the complete residence of the early bishop of Wells, and to have contained every accommodation common in their day; but in the course of time, as their wants multiplied, and their retinue more numerous, it became necessary to afford greater space for their munificence and hospitality. The result is apparently shown in the erection of a building, stretching east and west, attached to one angle of the chapel, and containing all the requirements of a residence.

This building is said to have been built by Robert Burnell, bishop between 1275 and 1292. It has, with one exception, every appearance of being of this date, and a later erection than the chapel; but it is singular that the single exception should be the precise imitation of the mouldings and strings used on the exterior of the chapel. The whole is now in ruins, the result of the demolition in the reign of Edward VI by sir John Gates. The ruins formerly contained a complete residence without any reference to the earlier buildings previously described; and as the offices were all placed at the west with the hall between them and the chapel, I am inclined to believe that it was originally intended to remove the first erections, or, at any rate, to divide the hall, etc., into apartments of secondary importance. There is, however, no means of now ascertaining whether these latter alterations were carried out at this time, the present divisions and apartments bearing no mark of an approximate date with the larger halls. The remains are but scanty, the east end being gone and the most part of the north side, and the porches on either side; but the angular turrets remain, together with the greater portion of the walls of the western end.

The main hall, which is about 112 ft. long, by 58 ft. in breadth, was entered north and south by two large porches, both of which, as noticed before, are gone; but marks remain upon the northern wall to indicate that their height was considerable, probably of two stories, and, as the two doorways are of similar design, I am inclined to suppose that the main features of the porch were also alike. The great hall was lighted by nine windows, four north and south, and one to the east; the four to the north only now remain, they are all of two lights with foliated transoms; the heads are rather acute, and the form of each light is produced by an arc of the same radius as the whole window, supporting a central rose window; the whole has been beautifully traceried with detached foliation, but these last have mostly disappeared. The escoinson arches are all well moulded, and were originally supported by detached shafts. The stone work of these windows, and of several others in the building, have marks in the jambs of hook irons, in fact, several of them are still in

their place, indications of the former presence of wooden shutters in both the upper and lower lights. The dais must have occupied the eastern end, and was approached from the exterior by a small doorway, which would also afford easy access to the chapel. The octagonal turret at this angle forms a portion of the chapel, and is accommodated with a staircase. The turret to correspond on the southern side is entire, and battlemented, as are the other two, but this last appears to be solid. The approach to the hall by the main entrance was apparently protected by a screen across one end of the hall, but this has entirely disappeared.

The portion of the ruins east of the porches was occupied by a building of two stories; the lower was entered from the hall as well as by a doorway (still existing) now walled up, in the western wall, which may probably have communicated with other offices occupying the site of the present stables. This story is lighted by many windows of different forms and sizes, showing it to have been originally divided into several apartments devoted to culinary purposes.

The area above was occupied by one chamber or solar, and was entered by steps from the north porch; it was lofty and well proportioned, and open roofed, marks of the height of which are still to be seen, which indicate its arrangement to have been different to that of the hall, as the ridge must have run north and south. I have no doubt that this chamber served the purpose of a state apartment, although it is rather unusually placed at the opposite end to the hall than that occupied by the dais. It must have been a beautiful room, being evidently much more decorated than the other portions, and had probably the advantage of a gallery above the screen, from which might be seen all the occurrences in the hall beneath. This solar was warmed by a large chimney piece that occupied a position scarcely central in the western wall. It is to be regretted that all traces of the chimney piece itself have disappeared but its hollow back, and very evident signs of a flue still exist. To the right of the chimney, in the same wall, is a two-light window, and a similar one in the north wall, which probably matched a corresponding one to the south now gone; they differ from the windows in the hall, being slightly richer in the tracery, but they

have no columns in the imposts. Through the jamb of the western window is an opening that leads, in the thickness of the wall, to the northern turret.

The tower on the opposite side is entered from the solar, and contains a chamber singularly beautiful; it is octagonal and is groined in the form of "Becket's crown," the ribs springing from semi-detached moulded caps. The windows are small and are irregularly placed. It is difficult to assign a name or a purpose to this chamber, it may have served for an oratory, but this I think scarcely probable; it may again have been a place of security for the most precious ornaments in the custody of the bishop. I have no means of testing the validity of these suggestions. There would, however, be no difficulty in giving a name to this beautiful apartment, were it not in a bishop's palace, as it closely resembles in other buildings what is usually denominated a "lady's bower".¹

The exterior of these ruins, so far as they are perfect, are plain and battlemented; and although in an architectural point of view there is much to regret that so little remains in its original splendour, the regret admits of much mitigation to those who admire the beautiful and the picturesque, for I will venture to assert that no ruin of the same extent presents to us so many objects of admiration, or has so varied an outline under every point of view.

References to the plan on plate 24 :

- A. Modern porch.
- B. Position of the original entrance to the basement story.
- C. Former position of the fireplace in the hall.
- D. E. Arches showing the situation of former divisional walls.
- F. F. Doors now stopped up.
- G. Above this point was the entrance to the upper story.

¹ Since writing this, I have heard that, during some excavations made years since, a drain was discovered leading from this angle to the moat, which at once marks the chamber as a luxurious "garde-robe".

ON THE EARLY ROWEL.

BY JAMES JAMES, ESQ., F.S.A.

SIR SAMUEL MEYRICK, in his *Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour*, has stated that the seal of Henry III represents him in spurs with rowels, and that it offers the oldest example of what he terms a "compassionate invention". In a note he adds: "It has been asserted that there are earlier specimens; but, unfortunately, the copyist has mistaken the round knob on the pryck-spur for rowels, and this particularly in the Bayeux tapestry, where that knob is made merely by a cross-stitch. I much suspect that the rowels on Henry's seal are the fancy of the engraver, and not in the original, as we do not find the rowel on sepulchral monuments before the time of Edward II."

I have examined several impressions of the great seal of Henry III in the cabinets at the British Museum. The first seal undoubtedly bears the pryck; but the others, commencing with Harl. Cat. 43, c. 38, made in the fourteenth year of the reign (A.D. 1240), have fine star-rowels of eight points. One, a grant to Philip Basset, of the manor of Kereseye, made at Bordeaux on the 20th April, in the 27th year of the reign, has a particularly well developed rowel. It is to be regretted that many of the seals collected by Mr. Kerrich have been engraved by men of no antiquarian knowledge, who, finding the point of the spur much broken or worn, have improperly added the rowel. These seals appear, on examination, to be as little trustworthy in other particulars.

It is to the period of Henry III. I attribute the spur, fig. 1, plate 25. It is of iron, and indebted for the perfect condition in which it is, to the preservative qualities of the London clay whence it was recovered during some excavations lately made in Cannon-street, City. This spur, like those seen upon the great seal of Henry III,

has a rowel of eight points ; but there is stronger evidence than this to enable us to fix the date, for the arms are so entirely of the character of the three pryck-spurs given in the *Journal*,¹ as to make it impossible to assign any other period to it. It has two perforations at the end of the arms, to receive the mounts for the upper and sole leathers.

Fig. 2, on plate 25, is another spur of the same form, with eight rowels. The leathers have been riveted to the arms ; and although the metal is much corroded, the rivets are still visible. It was found during some excavation in the City, about twelve years ago.

Fig. 3 is a spur with a rowel of six points, in the finest condition. The strap has been riveted on one side, and passed through a loop on the other. It is, in all respects, like that shewn on the De Boteler slab.

The discoveries made up to the time of the publication of the *Critical Inquiries* justified the statement that the rowel was first found upon monumental effigies of the time of Edward II ; but in the year 1846 an incised slab was discovered in the church of St. Bride's, Glamorganshire, which now exhibits the earliest rowel. The effigy represents Sir John de Boteler, A.D. 1285. He is habited in a shirt of chain-mail, over which comes the surcoat. The only plate armour about him is a skull-cap, on which appears two covered cups. The shield is charged with three. In his hand he carries a sword, with a blade curiously waved down the middle. The spurs have the curved arm and the loop, already seen in the earlier type. They are fitted for the use of single straps, which are buckled on the outside.

The fact that the rowel was in use as early as the year 1240 being beyond doubt, and as we shall now have to treat of the rowel-spur alone, it may be proper to remark here, that, although the form of it is, to a certain extent, a guide to the determination of a date, it is almost valueless as evidence unless it be taken in connexion with the form of the neck and arms, and with the mode by which the straps were attached. These observations are made in anticipation of an objection which may be raised to the third example in plate 25, founded upon the opinions of sir Samuel Meyrick.

¹ See vol. xii, for 1856, pp. 209-222. Plate 27.

In the letterpress which accompanies plate 81 in Skelton,¹ "English heralds," says Sir Samuel, "derive the mullet from the spur-rowel, adding, that it has never more than five points, while they at the same time represent the whole spur with a rowel of six. In French heraldry the mullet has six points. Whence the origin of the word is extremely doubtful, as, whether pierced or not, it is called 'a mole' and 'a molet' in a list of armorial bearings in the antiquarian repertory of the time of Edward I. Certain it is, that spur-rowels were never of six points *before the reign of Henry VI*, nor of five till that of Charles I. When, therefore, a writer of the former period gave the name of mollettes to them,—'Et ungz esperons d'ores qui seront attachez a une cordelette autour de la jambe, affinque la mollette ne tourne dessoubz le pie,'—he did so from their resemblance to that charge in heraldry. The *Boke of St. Albans* calls it macula, which coincides with the idea of its representing a meteor or spot in the heavens rather than the rowel of a spur."

Now the rowel with six points is not only seen upon the incised slab to the memory of the De Boteler, 1285, Edward I (the date fixed for the third example on plate 25); but also upon the celebrated Hastings brass in Elsyng church, Norfolk, which has been engraved by Cotman. The figure is supposed to represent sir Hugh de Hastings, who died in 1347 (Edward III). The solleret is of chain-mail: the arm of the spur is so violently curved (the concavity towards the heel), as to render a very short sole-strap necessary. The leathers are riveted to the arms on the inside.

The rowel of six points will appear again in the reign of Henry IV.

Fig. 4, plate 25, is another example of the early rowel. It has twelve points; and having been imbedded in the London clay, is not much corroded. There is no monumental authority to quote for this; but the shape of the whole spur forbids me assigning any other period to it. A piece of the original leather still adheres to the strap-mount.

Rowels may be conveniently divided into three classes: those shaped like the figures on plate 25 should be called

¹ Engraved Illustrations of Ancient Arms and Armour. Google

"star"; those dividing the points for about a sixth of the diameter of the circle described, should be called "rose"; and other arrangements should be termed "foliated".

The spurs of slain or captured knights were at times made use of for the purpose of commemorating a victory, or gracing a triumph; and when, in the year 1302, the French knights of Philip-le-Bel were disastrously defeated by the burghers of Ghent, Lille, Bruges, and other cities of the Low Countries, five hundred pairs of spurs, taken from the harness of slain or captured knights, decorated the walls of a chapel in the church of our Lady of Courtray, and each year figured in a solemn fête held by the citizens in commemoration of their victory.

In the *Théâtre d'Honneur* will be found the following rules relating to arming for a tournament (about the commencement of the fourteenth century: Edward II), which commences with directing "how a knyth sulde be armyt and tournay":

"Ffyrst, a harnese of jampes couert with leddir sowit with pointis the lenthe of the jambe to the kne, and ij ataches larges for til atache thaim in til his brayere. Item cuisses and poullains armyt with leddir. Item hosis of mail aboue the harnes of jambes ataches to the brayere, as said is, aboue the cuisses. And a payre of gylt spurres quhilkes salbe knet with a small corde about the jambe, because the spure turne not vnder the fut. Item vns anciens et vnes espaullieres. Item pause et manches quhilkes salbe knete to the cuirie; and the cuirie with all his aggrappes sus les espaulles; et vne souceilleire apone the feit before. Item bracheres knet to the schuldres of the cuyrie. Item bascynet a tout le hourson & ane escusone of balayne apone the nek, coverit with leddir, with the tonneres for to knete to y^e brayere or the cuyrie. And apone the bacynet a coife of mail and a faire offroy befor on the front quha will, and a wyn brede to put in the knythes hands. Item a heaume & the tymbre sic as he will. Item ij thenzeis knet to the brest of the cuyrie, ane for the suerd, the tother for the bastone. And ij visieres for to festyne the heaume.

"How a squyare sulde be armyt: The abillement of the squyare salbe evin lik as the knythes excepe that he suld haue na hoise of maill, na corsette of mail apone his bacy-

net ; but he suld haue a chaplete of mont aubienne, and he suld haue na bracheres. And of othir things may arm him as a knyth, and suld haue na sautoure at his sadill."

Thus, after prescribing with the greatest minuteness every sort of arms and armour which the knight is to carry in the tournament, including the "payre of gylt spurres", it goes on to declare, after prohibiting several articles, not including the "gylt spurres", that in all other respects the squire shall be armed as a knight, but that he should have no stirrups to his saddle. This would seem to give him the right to wear them ; but we can scarcely suppose that the man to whom stirrups were denied, would be allowed the privilege of a gold spur. There can be no doubt, however, that esquires were of different degrees ; that some were consequently entitled to privileges which were not allowed to others. By the "*Statutum Armorum in Tornamentis*"—the date of which, says sir Samuel Meyrick, there are good grounds for assigning to the year 1295, and which was passed "*a la requeste de contes e de barons e de la chivalrie de Engleterre*"—it was ordained, amongst other things, "*e si aucun graunt seign' ou autre, teygne mangerie, qe nul esquier ne ameyne eynz fors ceus qe trencherunt devaunt lur seignurs*"; by which it is evident that, at the entertainments which were provided by the lord of the tournament, esquires unfit for high company not unfrequently intruded. Again, in a manuscript in the College of Arms, given at some length by capt. Grose, there is a "*rembraus of the apparell for the felde belonging to a knight, or a esquire, of faire lande, whiche hath a retinu*", shewing that in the time of Henry VII there were still distinctions in the grade of esquires. In the list, which is of great length, and descends to the minutest particulars, we have: "In prim, an whyt harness cōplette, with two hede peces accordinge. Item, 2 good horses, at the lest oon for hymself, anod' for his page. Item, a large amelynghors to bere hymselfe armed, to spare the courser. Item, 2 pere of armyng spores." And after prescribing "a good pelow to sleppe on", it concludes with, "as for cooke, every man can be cher w^t help of vitalers, hit wer good to have store of salt, poudre, and vynegar, and salet oyle and spyce."

About the year 1316, an inventory was taken of the arms and armour belonging to the French king, Louis X,

deceased. It is headed, "Inventoire des armeures, et premieremens de celles que Doublet a rendus aux executeurs." A few extracts from it will shew the taste for luxury in weapons, defensive armour, and costume, which was already established,—a taste which was gratified in France as in England, by recourse to the artists of foreign countries. "Item 3 colorettes Pizan de jazeran d'acier." "Item un haubert entier de Lombardie. Item 2 autres haubergons de Lombardie." Item 5 autres heaumes dont li uns est dorez, et 5 chapeauoons, dont les 2 sont dorez." "Item 4 espée garnies d'argens, dont les 2 sont garnit de samit & les deux de cuir. Item une espée à parer garnit d'argent, le pommel et le poign esmaille." "Item 4 paires d'espérons garnis de soye, et 2 paires garnies de cuir." In this collection there appears also an item of "un couteau à manche de fust et da fer, qui fut S. Louys, si come l'en dit."

Towards the middle of the fourteenth century a great change had taken place in the panoply of war. Piece after piece had been added, until the usual equipment for a knight was such as is shewn us on the Elsyng brass. Genouillières secured the knees; a steel bascinet, to which the camaille was attached, protected the head; the arms were defended by demi-brassarts and vambraces; the shins by jambarts; the shoulder and elbow joints were covered by roundels; pieces called coudieres encased the elbows; and laminated plates protected the upper part of the foot, although the principal figure in the Elsyng brass does not display all these improvements, those figures in the canopied niches which decorate the sides, afford us complete examples. The study of the monumental brasses and sculptured effigies of this date shows that the metal, in some cases, had been made to assume fantastic shapes; and in all an attention had been paid to ornamentation, which tells that the art of drawing and working in metal had attained a very advanced stage.

The pryck-spur had maintained its place for a century after the invention of the rowel; but on the introduction of plate armour it fell into disuse, and is seen for the last time on the effigy of John of Eltham, 1334. I must observe, however, that, amongst the many odd forms which these implements assumed, another pryck-spur, of the

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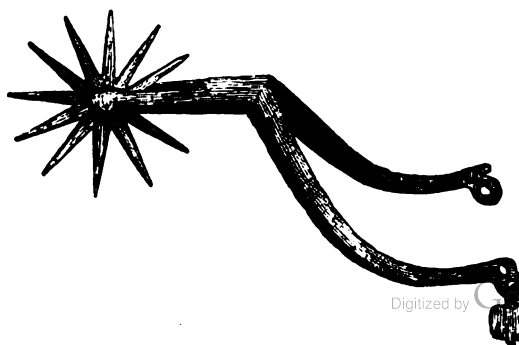
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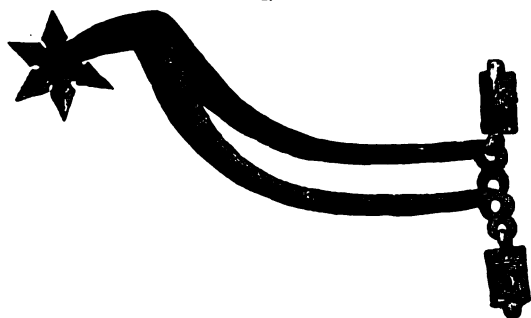


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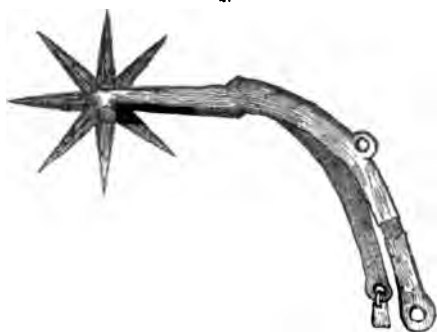




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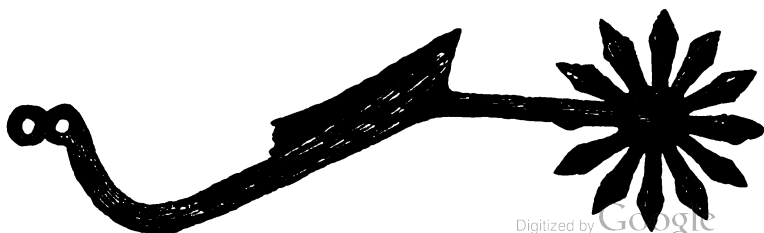
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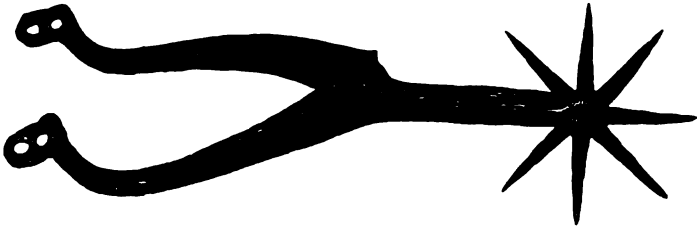
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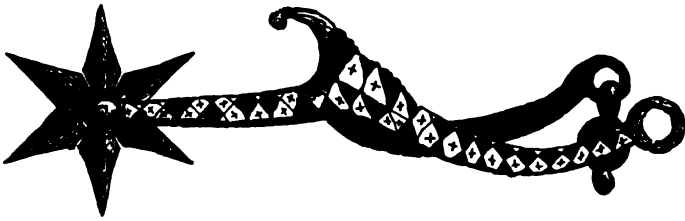
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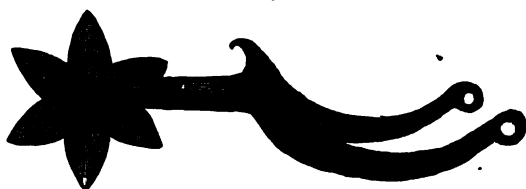
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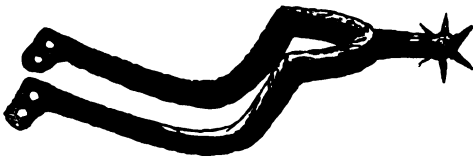
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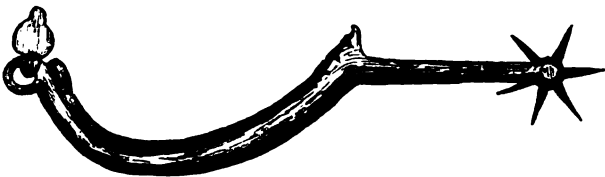
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time of James I, will be engraved in the section devoted to that epoch.

With the latter half of the fourteenth century (which introduces us to the effigies of sir John de Paletot and sir Thomas de Cobham), the period of plate armour may be said to commence. Henceforth we find no traces of the chain-mail (except the *camaille*), as an exterior defence, although it was still found useful as a protection for the joints when worn beneath the plate. In St. Mary's church at Aylesbury there is a sculptured effigy of a knight, unknown, which was recovered from a spot near the town, called the Friarage. In this figure may be seen the earliest character which the plate assumed. The present condition of this unpublished monument precludes the possibility of furnishing a drawing. When first discovered, and placed in St. Mary's church, time had done little towards impairing its beauty; but the example set by the ignorant person who first cut his initials in the alabaster, has been followed to such an extent, that there is now but little to be seen of what was once a noble effigy.

The mounted figure of St. George on the clock face of the cathedral at Basle, has been etched from a photograph by Brisson frères (see pl. 26). It gives a correct idea of the armour in use on the Continent during the latter half of the fourteenth century. The *jupon* of the effigy of the Black Prince, on his tomb at Canterbury, covers the breast and stomach; but in all which can be seen, the armour of both figures is alike. There is one peculiarity, however, in the *bascinet* of St. George, as shewn by the photograph, which deserves attention. It appears to have a comb. But this is to be attributed to a strongly marked shadow, the *bascinet* on the figure being in every respect similar to those seen upon monuments of the same period in this country. Mr. Cruikshank's etching omits all notice of this shadow. The spur upon the photograph presents the appearance of a neck with two rowels, which a correspondent at Basle, whose attention has been specially directed to the inquiry, declares to be inconsistent with the fact. The saddle is so curved in front and rear as to make it as difficult to leave it as to get there, and gives the rider that elevated seat which is seen in the portrait of sir Geoffrey Louttrell, in the celebrated Psalter. Beyond a strap in

the front, to prevent the saddle slipping back (now called a breastplate), and a simple snaffle bridle, there are no horse trappings; presenting a strong contrast between the charger harnessed for the combat in the battlefield, and the horse decked with gay cloths to carry sir Geoffrey in the gentle passage of the lists.

The leading characteristic of the solleret worn in the last half of the fourteenth century, was the pointed toe. That of the spur was a short neck with a large rowel.

In the year 1352, Geoffrey Charney, lord of Watas, in the service of the French king (John II), agreed with Emericus of Padua, who held the town of Calais for king Edward III, that, for the sum of twenty thousand crowns, he should, on a day named, surrender it into the hands of the French. But Edward being informed by Emericus of all the arrangements, placed men-at-arms in ambush, and having allowed some of the French to pass into the town, broke down the drawbridge, and massacred those who had entered. "There were," says Stowe, "slain in this skirmish, the lord Henry de Boys, the lord Archibald, and many others whose names the conquerors were not able to certifie. Thus, by pollicie and deuised treason, the authors thereof came to death and destruction: neither Emericus (Eustachius in the *Chronicle*) himselfe escaped scot free from the snares, for hee, within a while after, being taken by the Frenchmen, was burned alive with a hot yron, and degraded from the order of knighthood by the cutting of his spurs from off his heeles, and depriuing of his tongue by abscition: afterward he was hanged up, and last of all beheaded and quartered, receiuing just punishment for his treason and false forswearing."¹

The different woodcuts of sollerets bearing spurs, which have been furnished in illustrations of the objects delineated on the plates, will better serve to give a correct notion of the progress of the defensive armour for the foot than any written description; but here and there great peculiarities are met with, as in the monument of sir Henry Littlebury, which lies in the west end of Holbeach church, Lincolnshire. The border of the jupon is decorated with elegant foliations, the whole equipments forming a good study for the costume of the day, excepting that a shield

¹ Annales, or a Generall Chronicle of England, 1631, fol., p. 249.

(bearing a rampant lion) covers the left arm, and is suspended from the right shoulder by a guige,—a remnant of early defence not consistent with a suit of plate. The solleret is unique, the laminations being arranged in the same manner as on the heel of the solleret seen upon the monument of one of the De Sulneys in Newton Solney church, Derbyshire, engraved in the journal (vol. 7) of the Archæological Institute, in illustration of a paper by Mr. Hewitt. This arrangement is also repeated in the gauntlets. It is to be regretted that, from the position of the feet, the spurs do not appear. A monument in the abbey church at Tewkesbury presents us with another curious arrangement for the protection of the foot. The jambarts are so forged as to cover the instep with their lower extremities. The solleret itself is composed of one piece of steel, and is rudely fashioned so as to indicate the form and position of the toes.

Fig. 1, plate 27, is a spur of the time of Edward III. The neck is short, and has a foliated rowel of six points. This has also been in the London clay, by which a piece of leather, still adhering to the strap-mounts, has been preserved.

Fig. 2, plate 27, is a bronze spur of most peculiar form. The rowel has eight points. In the absence of anything upon the monumental brasses to guide my judgment in fixing the date, I have to look for other evidence. It is much corroded, and has suffered more from the ravages of time than objects in brass generally do; but it is clear that no alteration whatever has taken place in the shape. It appears to have been designed for a heel covered with chain-mail, and is not wide enough for one with plate armour; above all, the neck presents a peculiarity which I have observed on one spur only (fig. 1, plate 26), and that consists in the exaggerated size of the box into which the rowel-pin runs. It will be seen that the arm is intended to pass down the back of the ankle instead of curving under it, the instep-strap being fastened to the perforation on the upper part of the arm. The rowel has eight points.

Figure 3, on plate 27, is a noble example of the spur of the time of Richard II, but is not so elegant as that seen upon the copper effigy of the Black Prince, on his tomb in Canterbury cathedral. The solleret in that figure is pointed, and of prodigious length. The arms of the spur

are strongly curved, and are fastened by a strap profusely decorated with steel mountings and enamel. The neck is short. The rowel is large, and "foliated". The strap is buckled on the instep and passes through the guard, which is a prominent feature in the drawing before us. The rowel has eight points.

Fig. 4 is a spur of the same character as the last; but the rowel has twelve points. The same spur may be seen upon the following brasses: sir Thomas Cheyne, Drayton Beauchamp, Bucks; the brass of a knight (unknown) in Broughton church, Lincolnshire; a knight of the Cobham family, Cliffe Pypard church, Wiltshire; sir John Harsyck, Southacre church, Norfolk; and John Cray, esquire, Chinnor church, Oxon. John Cray is one of the first warriors (not being a knight) to whom the dignity of a monumental brass was accorded. A spur of this type may be seen upon the effigy of sir Hugh Calveley in Bromley church, Cheshire. Sir Hugh was one of the combatants in the celebrated battle of Trente.

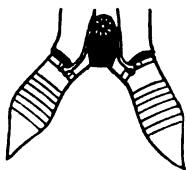
Froissart has omitted all notice of this extraordinary combat; but Mr. Johnes gives an account of it, which he takes from the *Histoire de Bretagne*, vol. i, p. 280. The English in Brittany, commanded by sir Walter Bentley, being much irritated at the death of sir Thomas Daggeworth, and failing to capture those who slew him, revenged themselves by laying waste the whole country. Marshal de Beaumanoir, and Bembre (who commanded in Ploermel for the English, and had been the companion in arms of Daggeworth), met by appointment to confer. The meeting was a stormy one, and ended by an engagement on the part of Bembre to meet Beaumanoir at the half way oak tree between Josselin and Ploermel. Each was to bring thirty men-at-arms and fight the quarrel out. The 27th of March (being the fourth Sunday in Lent), A.D. 1351, was the day fixed for the combat. Beaumanoir brought with him nine knights and twenty-one esquires. The knights were, the lord de Tinteniach, Cuy de Rochefort, Yves Charruel, Robin Ragueneil, Huon de St. Yvon, Caro de Bodegat, Olivier Arrel, Geoffry du Bois, and John Rousselet. In Bembre's garrison there were but twenty English: the remainder were Germans and Bretons. Among them were sir Robert Knolles, Croquart

(the celebrated freebooter, who rode horses for which he gave three hundred crowns), Hervé de Lexualen, John Plesanton, Richard and Hugh le Gaillart, Jannequin Taillart, Ressefort, Richard de la Lande, Thomelin de Billefort, Hugh Calverley, Robinet Melipars, Yfrai or Isannai, John Russel, Dagorne, and a soldier named Hulbitée, of vast proportions and of great strength.

Bembre was the first on the field of battle, and drew up his troop. Beaumanoir followed. Each made a short harangue to his men, exhorting them to support their own honour and that of their nation. Bembre particularly encouraged his men by reciting an old prophecy of Merlin which promised victory to the English. The combat was about to commence when Bembre unfortunately showed signs of regretting the engagement into which he had entered. He demanded a parley of Beaumanoir, and said that he had committed an imprudence in undertaking to fight without the order of his king. Beaumanoir, however, would take no denial, and remarked that Bembre was too late in discovering this, for that the nobility of Brittany would not return without having proved by battle who had the fairest mistresses. The signal was given for the attack. Their arms were not similar: each combatant chose such as best suited him. Billefort wielded a huge mallet, twenty-five pounds' weight. The advantage at first was with the English, for the Bretons had lost five men. Beaumanoir, during a pause in the fray, exhorted them not to mind this. Each party having had some refreshments, the combat was renewed. Bembre was slain by the hand of Bertrand du Gueslin. On seeing this, Croquart cried out, "Companions! don't think of the prophecies of Merlin; let us depend on our courage and arms. Keep yourselves close together; be firm, and fight as I do." Beaumanoir, wounded, was quitting the field to quench his thirst, when Geoffrey du Bois, upbraiding him, said, "Beaumanoir, drink thy blood, and thy thirst will go off." Beaumanoir, ashamed, returned to the fight. The Bretons were at last victorious. Of the English most were killed; Knolles, Calverly, and Croquart, made prisoners, were carried to the castle of Josselin. The prizes of valour were given to Tinteniach on the side of the Bretons, and to Croquart on that of the English. The spot

where the combat was fought is still marked by a cross bearing the inscription, "A la memoire perpetuelle de la bataille de Trente, que m^{re} le marechal de Beaumanoir à gaignée dans ce lieu l'an 1350."

Reference to the brass of sir Thomas Cheyne brings us to the consideration of the object of the ring round the rowel, which has obtained for such examples the title of "dress spur", and has been supposed by some to indicate the tenure by the deceased of an office about the court. I think there is no ground for this belief. One of the first



Sir J. Raven.

cases in which it occurs is on the brass of sir John Raven, in the church at Great Berkhamstead, Hertfordshire: the date is c. A.D. 1360. A ring is struck round the rowel, and the shading is continued from the lower side, as appears by the woodcut.

The next case is that of sir Thomas Cheyne, in Drayton Beauchamp church, Buckinghamshire, A.D. 1368: a complete circle is struck round the points of the rowel, which are shewn upon the brass; and the metal being deeply incised, the points of the rowel are thrown out in strong relief. In the case of sir Edward



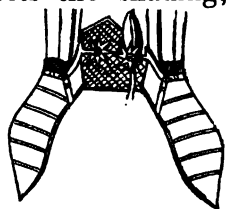
Sir T. Cheyna.

Cerne, in Draycot Cerne church, Wiltshire, A.D. 1380, the same treatment is met with, and it frequently occurs upon the monumental brasses up to, and during, the reign of Henry VI. The brass of sir John Wingfield, in Lotheringham church, Suffolk, is again arranged after the manner of the



Sir E. Cerne.

Berkhamstead brass. The date is 1400 (2nd Henry IV). The object which intersects the shading, and passes behind the left heel spur, is the tail of the lion couchant upon which the feet of the figure rest. I think it is impossible to examine these brasses attentively, and say, in the absence of all other evidence upon the subject, that the arrangement of these spurs has been made with any other intention beyond that of giving a definite background which should show out the rowel in good relief. There are other modes of finishing the lower extremities of brasses, which appear to me to have the



Sir J. Wingfield.

same object. I allude to the extraordinary appendages attached to the heels of sir John Curson in Belaugh church, Norfolk (1471, Henry VI); to those of sir Henry Grey, in Keteringham church, Norfolk (engraved about the same period as the last); to those of Robert Bomsted,¹ in Sotterley church (1479, Henry VI); and to those of George Brooke, in Easton church, Suffolk (1426, Henry V). The brass of George Brooke presents no substantial difference from that of Thomas Bumsted; and



Sir J. Curson.



Robert Bomsted.

a woodcut of the foot of sir H. Grey is given in the first of these papers, with an extract from sir Samuel Meyrick's remarks on what he assumed to be a protection to the spur. There can be no difficulty in recognizing in these three last brasses the same intention as is displayed in those which have the simple ring round the rowel; but the brass of sir John Curson is essentially different, and has the appendage so distinctly drawn as part and parcel of the harness, that it would be difficult to account for it if it were not for the effigy in Swaffham church, which clearly shows it to have the same origin. It is worthy of remark, that, of these brasses, four are in the county of Norfolk, and two in the county of Suffolk, and might possibly have been engraved by the same artist.

Fig. 1, plate 28, has a star-shaped rowel of eight points, with a slight crest and arms, contrasting strongly in the curves with those on plate 5. It may be seen upon the monument of sir R. de Grey of Rotherfield, Rotherfield Greys church, Oxfordshire (1387, 2nd Richard II). The chief characteristics of the spur of the time of Henry IV were, a straighter arm than that used in the preceding reign, single perforations for the strap-mounts, exaggerated crests, and foliated rowels. Sometimes these characteristics will be seen united in one spur; in another

¹ Cotman remarks that this brass is "not rightly appropriated to Christopher Playters, there being no such person in the pedigree, except the one who died in 1547", and says: "In Harvey's collections for Suffolk it is stated that the following inscription was, in his time, to be found here, 'Rob' Bomsted, gent., weh dyed 7 of Apryll an^o mⁱ iij^o lxxix.'"

example, one of these features will be found sufficient to mark the period.

Fig. 2, plate 28, is a spur discovered during some excavations which have recently taken place at Thurland castle, near Hornby, Lancashire. It was supposed, at the time, to have been buried since the days of sir Thomas Tunstal (A.D. 1399), who rebuilt part of the present edifice, and fortified it by leave of the king (Henry IV); and to this period the spur undoubtedly belongs. It is of good form and elegant decoration, being incised Tartan-fashion, and, in spite of some corrosion, still bears marks of the richest gilding. This is the earliest example of the crested spur, with which we shall presently become more familiar; and, moreover, exhibits another characteristic in having the arms perforated once only for the reception of the strap-mounts.

Fig. 3 on the same plate is of the same date.

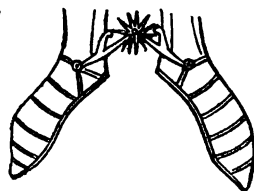
The authorities upon which this date has been assigned to these spurs, are, the brasses of sir John Bettesthorpe, in Mere church, Wiltshire (A.D. 1398, 22nd Richard II); sir George Felbrigge, in Playford church, Suffolk (A.D. 1400, 2nd Henry IV); a knight in Laughton church, Lincolnshire (A.D. 1405, 7th Henry IV); and the brass of sir Nicholas Dagworth, in Blickling church, Norfolk, 1401.



Sir N. Dagworth.

Fig. 4, on the same plate, is a spur of most peculiar form. It formed part of the collection of Mr. Vincent, and was said to have been discovered during some excavations which took place in the city of London about fifteen years ago, and must, from the straightness of the arms, and especially the strongly developed crest, be assigned to the same period as the last. The arms, it is supposed, were in this instance fitted with double perforations for the strap-mounts, as shewn in the next example.

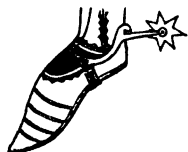
Fig. 5 is of the same character. A spur of this style may be seen upon the monumental brass of sir Thomas de St. Quentin in Harpham church, Yorkshire (22nd Hen. IV, 1420).



Sir T. de St. Quentin.

The examples on plates 29 and 30 are all of the period ranging from the early part of the reign of Henry IV to the beginning of that of Henry VI. The single perforation of the arm marks this distinctly. In some, the straight arm shews them to belong to the earlier time; in others, the long neck and curved arm point to the period when the spur assumed its greatest length (Henry VI and Edward IV). Fig. 2, plate 29, would have been more properly placed as the last figure on plate 30, as it will be found to range with the first example in the next section, a short-necked spur, with a rose rowel, curved arms, and a strong crest.

The woodcut of the right foot of a knight of the d'Eresby family, from a brass in Spilsby church, Lincolnshire (1410, Henry V), shews a spur like fig. 3, plate 29. The brass of sir Symon de Felbrigg, K.G. (standard bearer to Richard II), in Felbrigg church, Norfolk (1416, Henry V), and that of sir John Hadresham in Lingfield church, Surrey (1417, Henry V), shew spurs of the type represented by fig. 3, plate 30.



Knight, d'Eresby family.

In the acts of the French parliament at Paris, in the year 1415, is the following description of the creation of a knight: "Et print d'un de ses gens son espée, et le dit seigneur mis à genoux près du Greffier, frappa trois grans coups le dit roy sur le dos du dit seigneur. Puis fit dechausser l'un de ses eperons dorez, et lui fit chausser par l'un de ses gens et l'y ceindre une ceinture où estoit pendu un cousteau long pour espée." And took from one of his attendants his sword; and the said nobleman being placed upon his knees, near the registrar, the said king struck the said nobleman three great blows with it on his back. Then he caused to be taken off one of his gilt spurs, and made one of his attendants fasten it on the heel of this lord, and gird him with a girdle, from which was suspended a long knife instead of a sword.¹ The *Critical Inquiry* also furnishes a most interesting essay upon the rise and progress of chivalry and the institution of knighthood, but little information is given upon the rights of those who conferred the order. Distinguished knights appear to have exercised the right which at this day is the prerogative of the crown. Some

¹ Critical Inquiry.

of the documents quoted by sir Samuel are exceedingly curious. To what purpose could three spurs be put in such a ceremony? In Madox's *Exch.*, 372, the following expenses are stated: "For clothes and horses and other apparatus, to make two knights, £12 2s. 6d." "For three robes of scarlet, three of green, two baldekins, one culcitra, and other things necessary to make a knight, £33." "For three robes of silk, three of green, three wrappers, X three spurs, three saddles with thongs, three vests, etc., to make a knight, £21 10s. 2d."

ON SOME ANGLO-SAXON ARMS FOUND IN THE THAMES.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

THOUGH the kingdom of the East Saxons was established as early as the year of our Lord 527, and London must, from necessity, have at once become a place of prime importance to them, still so few Teutonic *reliquiæ* have been met with entombed within its soil, or beneath the waters that lave its shores, that, were it not for the testimony of the old chroniclers, we should have scarcely dreamt that its highways had ever felt the tread of *thane* and *etheling*, *eorl* and *theow*; nor that the Thames had ever borne upon its bosom the merchant's craft, the pageant barge, and war-ship of the *Cyning*. Pastimes have been played upon the river's waves, armies have contended along its banks and by the sides of its ancient bridge, so that there has been no lack of occasions in which many a bauble of peaceful life, and many a memorial of martial strife, may have been lost; yet the Thames has yielded up but few Anglo-Saxon spoils, but among those few are some iron weapons to which I would now call attention.

The chief arms of the Anglo-Saxons were swords and daggers, formidable war-knives, ponderous axes, and spears and javelins, of all of which examples have at various

Arms found in
the Thames.



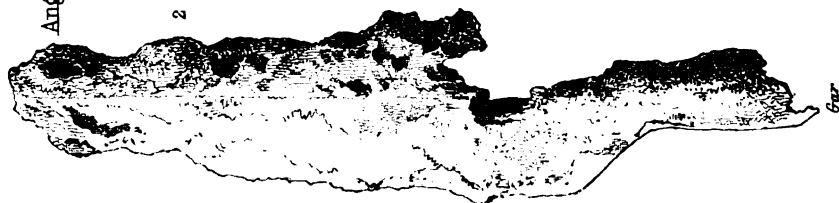
Two-edged Sword



Hyp-Sword.



Wid. Sword



Bar



Bar

times been recovered from the Thames. The rarest is the *guth-bil*, or war-axe, of which very few specimens have been obtained; and I believe that the *twy-bil*, or double-axe, is still a desideratum among London antiquities. The *sweord*, or sword, is somewhat more common than the *guth-bil*, but still a rare item to meet with. All the examples I have seen are much of the same general form, having broad, straight, double-edged blades, from two to three feet in length, with a transverse bar across the apex of the tang.

The spears and lances are the most abundant of the Saxon weapons in every situation in which Saxon remains are discovered. Their blades vary in length from less than four inches to full two feet. The smaller are types of the *here-stral*, or war-dart; the larger, of the *gar*, the "slaughtering pike" which, the bard Aneurin says, was wielded by Hengist at the battle of Caltraeth. Our esteemed associate, Mr. G. R. Corner, kindly places before us a rather small but most perfect specimen of the *gar*, or spear, which was found in the Thames in 1832. (Pl. 31, fig. 1.) Its blade is six inches in length, and one inch nine-sixteenths across the broadest part. The socket is about four inches long, and, like all the sockets of early Saxon weapons, is made open up the side. It is perforated for two transverse rivets, which secured it to the *beam* or shaft, which was so constantly made of ash-wood that the spear itself acquired the title of *ase*; and the soldier, that of *ase-bérend*, or ash-bearer. The iron of which this *gar* is composed, is of that rosy description which constitutes so distinguishing a feature in all the ferric products of the Anglo-Saxon forge; but there is a peculiarity in this specimen which I do not remember to have observed in any other. It seems as if a short lozenge-shaped blade had first been made, and then a sagittal piece, of closer texture, welded on to the end; the two together producing a leaf-shaped blade, which, both in dimensions and contour, may be compared with a spear discovered at Northfleet in Kent, and engraved in our *Journal*, iii, 236.

I now exhibit the remains of a spear-head of much larger size than Mr. Corner's specimen, but which, when perfect, must have closely resembled it in form (fig. 2). The blade would seem to have been originally about a foot in

length, and two inches three-eighths across the broadest part. Nearly the whole of the socket is unfortunately broken away. This *gar*, together with a Saxon sword in an equally corroded state, was recovered from the Thames in 1847.

The Anglo-Saxons employed daggers and war-knives of various kinds, respecting which considerable uncertainty exists,—an uncertainty which might be greatly lessened by a careful inspection of the weapons as they occur *in situ* in the graves, and a careful analysis of the names met with in the pages of Saxon authors. Mention is made of the *wæl-seax*, or slaughter-knife; *theoh-seax*, or thigh-knife; and *hyp-seax*, or hip-knife. Now the contents of the Saxon barrows clearly show that three distinct varieties of short weapons were in use among the early Teutons. We find a formidable knife, which might well bear the epithet of *wæl-seax*, and which, by-the-bye, is very like the scalping knives of the Red men of America. We find daggers of moderate length placed by the right thigh-bone of the skeleton; and, in their absence, much shorter ones by the right hip,—the prototypes, in all probability, of the knightly daggers which made their appearance as the companion to the swords in the reign of our first or second Edward. In Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii, p. 243, and in the catalogue of his museum, p. 101, are given representations of what I take to be the Saxon *wæl-seax*, or slaughter-knife; and I now submit a specimen resembling those in Mr. Smith's collection (fig. 3). It was fished up from the bed of the Thames in June 1847, and is in a very fair state of preservation. Its present length, including the broad flat tang, is rather above eleven inches; and it must be observed that the point is broken off. It is one inch and an eighth next the tang; and, when perfect, about one inch and three quarters at its greatest breadth. It has a groove on each side its thick back; and these grooves have been supposed to have been designed as receptacles for poison. Had they really been intended for such a purpose, they would not have terminated at the part where the back slopes off, but have been carried on to the very point of the weapon. That the Saxons did occasionally envenom their arms is a fact not to be denied. Thus we read in *Beowulf* (xxi) of "the hilted knife named

hrunting", whose "edge was iron, stained with poisonous twigs, hardened in gore."

Of what I believe to be the *hyp-seax*, or *hand-seax*, as it is likewise called, I beg to place before you two examples (figs. 4, 5), both of which were found in the Thames, near the site of the old bridge. They are exactly similar to the daggers found lying by the right hip of the body in the Saxon barrows of Kent and elsewhere. The most perfect of the two was recovered in March 1848. The point of the blade is slightly fractured; but when perfect it must have been five inches in length. It is a thick-backed, broad, curved knife, very analogous to the Roman, or, to speak more correctly, Thracian *sica*, having its sharp edge on the inner curve. There still adheres to the base of the tang the remains of the pine wood hilt; and it would seem, from Saxon swords and daggers brought to light in various parts of England, that most of the hilts were formed of this wood. The blade of our second specimen, which was dredged up in November 1847, is in a fractured condition; but the hilt is very perfect, and well exhibits its conic form, cased in thin iron, with a wire collar a little below its top.¹

Seaxes resembling the foregoing have been found accompanying the remains of females, and we may fairly conjecture that the weapon wherewith Grendel's mother attacked Beowulf was of this description.

Of sæt tha thone sele-gyst
and hyre seaxe ge-teáh,
brád brún ecg.

She beset then the hall-guest,
and drew her seax,
broad, brown-edged.

Beowulf, l. 3089.

The last of the Thames specimens with which I shall trouble you, is one of exceeding rare occurrence (fig. 6), the *twy-ecged seax*, or two-edged dagger, a weapon rendered in some degree familiar to us by a passage in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (lib. ii. c. 9), wherein he relates how Eumer

¹ It is said that the Saxons had two weapons bearing the name of *seax*, both of which were falci-formed, one being called the *hand*, the other the *long seax*. The above specimens represent the former; but of the latter no example seems to have yet been noted in England, though its discovery in Scandinavian barrows establishes the existence of such a weapon; which, from an engraving in Worsaae's *Afbildninger af Danske Oldsager*, pl. 97, fig. 384, appears to have been exactly like an Albanian *yataghán*. The *hip* or *hand seax* may be compared to the *sewar* of the Malays and little knife-daggers of the Goorkhas of Nepaul.

with a *two-edged dagger* imbued in poison, wounded Edwin king of Northumbria, through the body of the thane Lilla, who had interposed his person as a shield to his royal master. From this narrative it would appear that the *twy-ecged seax* was, at times at least, of considerable length, but still small enough to be concealed beneath the assassin's garb; but the blades of the few specimens of which I find record, fall short of a foot in length. The seax before you is almost a duplicate in form to one in the Faussett collection, exhumed near Ashby-Sandwich, and the blade of which measures ten inches. In the *Nenia Britannica* (pl. xix, 5) is another example from Bolton, Lancashire, which is also ten inches in length; and though our dagger in its present pointless state measures but six inches and a half, its breadth (about one inch and a quarter next the tang) agrees so nearly with the one in the *Nenia*, that we may well suppose they were both originally of the same dimensions. The tang of this seax, unlike the majority of the tangs of Anglo-Saxon arms, is cylindric, and cleft at the apex, either to receive the stem of some ornamental termination, or, what is more probable, it is the lower half of a hole for stud or rivet, employed in securing the haft.

Although the substance of these Saxon reliquiæ is nothing better than old iron, and that iron rusted and eroded in every part, and must appear to ordinary eyes but mere rubbish, they still possess no mean value in a historical point of view, for they are among the few, the very few memorials of Saxon times which have been brought to light around that city in which, under the precedency of prelate and *bretwalda*, synods and witenas assembled to give laws to England and to England's church. London can boast no barrow-covered downs, no hill-tops undulated with the death-mounds, so that if we would know something of the arms and ornaments, something of the domestic implements of the Teutonic denizens of the old *ceaster*, we must dive beneath the crowded trottoir of our busy streets, and dredge the depths of that river upon which the fleets of Alfred and Ethelred, of Sweyn, Olave and Canute, once proudly rode—now protecting, now menacing the affrighted townsmen. Let us not then despise these old Saxon weapons, though time has clothed them in corroding rust and gnawed them with relentless fangs.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ANCIENT SITE OF SOUTHAMPTON,

OCCASIONED BY THE RECENT DISCOVERY OF BONE PITS IN ST. MARY'S
ROAD; WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE ROMAN SCULPTURED
STONES IN CLAUSENTUM.

BY THE REV. E. KELL, M.A., F.S.A.

It may, perhaps, be considered as one evidence of the antiquity of a town that its origin is merged in such obscurity that no accounts of its foundation remain. It is then oft that we obtain materials for its history by delving beneath the earth's surface for the secrets there inhumed, and archæology thus becomes ancillary to our knowledge of the past. Southampton is one of these towns of unrecorded origin, and affords abundant scope for the researches and conjectures of the antiquary. Recent discoveries, the results of excavations, seem to point to the ancient site of the town as about half a mile to the north-east from the remains of the fortifications of Southampton. Northam—North-Ham, by which appellation the northern portion of this tract of ground is still called, may be conjectured to have been the northern part of the old town. Leland, in his *Itinerary*, mentions that in his time as at present there was a prevalent opinion among the common people that the parish of St. Mary's was the old site of the town. The favourable position of this spot for fishing and commerce would commend it to the early occupation of the primeval inhabitants.

I would beg now to offer the following narrative of an excavation which appears to throw further light upon the origin and ancient site of Southampton. In the latter part of March 1856, as some labourers were excavating in the south-west corner of St. Mary's-road, for the foundation of the Star and Garter, now called Deanery Inn, they opened several pits containing a large variety of bones of animals, amounting to nearly a ton in weight. The workmen had disposed of the contents of the pit before I was informed of the transaction, but some few of the bones were brought to me by the proprietor of the premises, Mr.

Wolverstan. They were those of the horse, hog and ox, together with a deer's horn. The pits were dug out of clay resting upon gravel. They were rectangular, from six to eight feet long, from four to six feet broad, and from six to seven feet deep, though the depth was not always ascertained, as the workmen excavated no deeper than suited their purpose. The piece of ground disturbed was about fifteen yards by ten. It is glebe land belonging to Queen's college, Oxford, and the bone pits were thought to extend into the adjoining ground. In the construction of the north wall of the yard, distant thirty yards from the house, the workmen came to two pits, over which they were obliged to use precautions to prevent the sinking of the ground. To the bottom of one of these pits, with the assistance of Mr. Laver, I excavated to ascertain its depth and contents. The surface ground was about two feet, the depth of the clay through which the pit was dug was seven feet six inches, terminating in the gravel. By the kindness of Ernest Wilkins, Esq., of Newport, who inspected the exhumed bones, I am enabled to say that besides the bones of the animals above mentioned were those of sheep and of various fowls. Oyster shells, deer's horns, and boars' tusks, were in considerable numbers. I also found fragments of bricks or tiles, which had been perforated by tubular holes about an inch in diameter, and some pieces of Anglo-Saxon pottery.

My attention was particularly drawn to this discovery in St. Mary's-road, from the account given by the late respected antiquary, J. R. Keele, esq., of Southampton, (in vol. iii, p. 50, of the *Collectanea Antiqua*), of a similar discovery of bone pits in 1849, about one hundred and fifty yards from the same spot. The intervening space is occupied by houses and a portion of the railway. Mr. Keele mentions that "in the space of half an acre a great many of these holes were discovered from which the clay had been taken away, and the holes afterwards filled with all sorts of rubbish, amongst which were found the bones and teeth of various animals, such as deer, oxen, horses, sheep, hogs, boars' tusks in great numbers, oyster shells, fish and fowl bones," etc. The bones were in such quantities that in 1849 "not less than fifty tons had been obtained from the holes." On that occasion, upon inspecting the rub-

bish, various relics, as iron and bronze keys, metal pins with ornamented heads, were picked out; and several Saxon coins, including half a dozen sceattas, a penny of Ethelstan, one of Ceonwulf, and another of Alfred, thus seemingly designating the period of the formation of the bone pits. Other Saxon coins, a penny of Offa, and one of Ecbeorht, were also turned up in digging the foundations of the new prison, which is contiguous to this spot. In laying the foundation of Grove-street in that vicinity, a large collection of human bones was discovered, which Mr. Keele, from a curious vase of green glass found in one of the graves and other circumstances, conjectured may have been the cemetery of that era, and he justly observes that the discovery of these pits with their contents favours the hypothesis that the parish of St. Mary was the *ancient site of Southampton*.

The recent discovery in March last of the pits in St. Mary's-road strongly corroborates this supposition, as these pits are obviously a *continuation* of those opened in 1849, and further testify to the large extent of the ancient population. No reason can be alleged why the inhabitants, within the fortifications of that which was subsequently the town of Southampton, should carry the bones of the animals on which they fed to this distance, whilst nothing could be more natural than that the population of that, which I am supposing to have been the *then* town of Southampton, should have cast such bones into pits close by them, excavated for the clay with which their houses were built. The removal of the town to the south-west of its original site was probably occasioned by the savage invasions of the Danes, who several times ravaged old Southampton with peculiar fury, wasting it with both fire and sword. A fortified town then became necessary, and the inhabitants would select for its site the southern part of the tongue of land on which the fortifications of Southampton stand, from its higher elevation and greater capability of defence. Pleasant to thought is the fact that by the progress of civilisation and the growth of the town the old wastes should be re-peopled, and the scene of desolation and desertion joining in the busy hum of our great commercial port—the Itchen again having on this part of its banks a crowded and prosperous population. It may,

perhaps, be considered a further corroboration of the reasons now adduced for the north-easterly site of the ancient Southampton, and as pointing to a very ancient occupation of this portion of land by the early Britons, that nearly opposite stands the Roman fort of Clausentum. The locality of this fort was chosen in part doubtless from the singular facility which the peculiar winding of the river affords for making an insular fort, but it may be conjectured that it was also constructed there to be near an opposite town, over whose inhabitants it might exercise a controlling influence either in peace or war.

I take this opportunity of making a few observations respecting this Roman fort Clausentum, which bears upon the Roman occupation of the Isle of Wight, a subject which has recently engaged the attention of the members of the Association.

In examining this fort about two years ago with Mr. P. Brannon, well known for his acquaintance with architecture and geology, we observed that the rudely constructed wall which now separates the site of Clausentum from the Itchen was composed of various stones similar to the strata of the Isle of Wight. This led to the conjecture that Clausentum might have been built with stone *from* the Isle of Wight; but as the original Roman walls have disappeared, and all ecclesiastical and other structures which succeeded them have also fallen to decay, lessening the grounds of certainty that the stones of this wall were brought over in *Roman* times from that island, we determined to examine the sculptured stones which had been excavated within the precincts of Clausentum, and which, if of Isle of Wight beds, would leave no doubt as to the time when they were brought thence. Though various of these stones have been dispersed,¹ five have been preserved by being built into the walls of a summer house erected on the grounds of Bellevue manor house, and they are *all* from the Isle of Wight beds. Three of these stones have already been figured in the *Transactions* of the Association recording the proceedings at the Winchester Congress in 1845, but are again produced to illustrate these remarks. Plate 32, fig. 1, is from the upper green sandstone, and is

¹ See Englefield's *Walk through Southampton*, p. 107.

Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

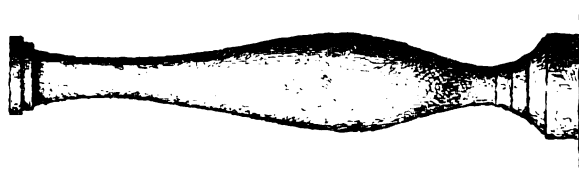
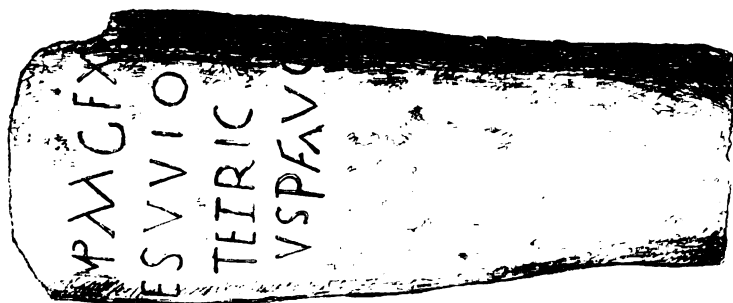


Fig. 5.



inscribed to Tetricus. Fig. 2 is an altar erected to a local divinity, the goddess Ancasta, from the comminuted shell bed of the Freshwater tertiary limestone. Various ecclesiastical structures, and amongst them the carvings of Quorr abbey in the Isle of Wight, were obtained from this bed. Fig. 3 is a frieze and cornice of the Freshwater tertiary limestone, with hollows from shells embedded. Fig. 4 is a stone baluster of the upper green sandstone, and fig. 5 of the Freshwater tertiary limestone, inscribed to Tetricus.

From this investigation, it is evident that the Romans not only obtained stone from the north part of the Isle of Wight, but from its south also, where the upper green sandstone is found. And as this is the nearest spot where these several kinds of stone could have been procured, and whence they could most easily have been transported, I think no doubt can remain that the Romans quarried stone in the Isle of Wight. The high probability that these sculptured stones were from its beds, affords additional testimony to that already given in the *Journal* of this Association of the extensive occupation of Vectis by the Romans.

ON EGYPTIAN GLASS.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT
AND TREASURER.

WHEN we consider the variety of purposes to which that transparent and impermeable material glass is now applied, the exceeding beauty of its appearance, its adaptation to the wants of civilized life, its aid to the progress of science, and the succour it affords to the decaying faculties of human nature, it is not a little surprising that we should be in such ignorance as to the origin of its invention. Much uncertainty unquestionably attends this subject, and the account rendered by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, lib. xxxvi, c. 65, § 26), although perhaps true in itself as regards the special fact narrated, cannot be taken as the real source of the discovery of this important substance. It is not at all

unlikely that some Phœnician sailors should have accidentally lighted a fire on the Syrian coast, and that the union of an alkali (yielded by the kelp) with the siliceous sand of the shore, should, under the attainment of a certain degree of heat, have produced a mass of vitrified matter.¹ Egypt, however, it must be recollected, possessed the necessary materials for the formation of glass in such quantities, and so many evidences are afforded to us by representations in the tombs, that we cannot but feel disposed to trace the origin of its invention from that country. The authority of those representations is satisfactorily upheld by the discoveries of travellers in the "land of marvels", where this substance is met with under various forms, answering purposes both useful and ornamental. The common practice of covering Egyptian idols, beads and other ornaments made of earthenware, with a vitrified mixture, shows this people to have been exceedingly familiar with the necessary proportions of ingredients and the processes of fusion, and must have employed the art in the earliest known times.

The derivation of the word is as obscure as its history. Its resemblance to ice (*glacies*) is supposed by some to have given rise to our word glass. The Latin designation² (*vitrum*) is a name given by the Romans to the plant called woad (*Isatis tinctoria*), which by our ancestors was called *glastum*, and which furnishes a blueish tint, and has also been conjectured to have given rise to the term; but the etymology is involved in mystery. The Hebrew word has in the Vulgate and the Septuagint been rendered glass or crystal. It is therefore applicable to all bodies having transparency or lustre. I know it has been common to consider the Egyptian glass as not possessing a high degree of transparency; perhaps this may be true as respects its general character; but the crystal bead possessed by my late friend captain Wm. Henvey, R.N., to which I shall presently allude more particularly, and which I have repeatedly examined, shows to what perfection this property had been achieved, and there are also not wanting a

¹ The Phœnician sailors were carrying a cargo of natron—but for what purpose?

² In the *Commentaries* of Cæsar the word *vitrum* is used to signify the substance employed by the females of Gaul to impart a tinge to their skin. The Latin authors have used the word to denote anything possessing transparency.

variety of specimens in the cabinets of sir Gardner Wilkinson and others, which establish the fact as to the excellence of the manufacture. To obtain glass in any quantity in a high state of transparency may have been, and most probably was, a labour of great difficulty; and therefore supports the credibility of the statement so often recorded, that the emperor Nero gave 6,000 sesteria, a sum equal to £50,000 of our money, for two cups furnished with handles. They are reported not to have been of extraordinary size, but remarkable for their perfect transparency and resemblance to crystal. These cups were of Egyptian manufacture, and Strabo records that he was told by a glass maker of Alexandria,¹ that a peculiar earth was found in Egypt, without which it was impossible to manufacture certain kinds of glass of a brilliant and valuable quality; and some vases presented by an Egyptian priest to the emperor Hadrian were considered so curious and valuable, that they were only used on grand occasions.²

The beads and bugles often found forming a covering of network upon the mummies and the various deities frequently placed upon the same, composed as before mentioned of earthen matter and dipped into a vitrified mixture, are seen of different colours according to the metallic oxide with which it has been combined. I herewith submit to you several specimens from my own collection, exhibiting not only some of the various tints or hues these antiquities are found to present, but also excellent instances of able workmanship and ingenuity. These are common; it is much rarer to find beads consisting entirely of glass. The mass of captain Henvey has been figured by sir Gardner Wilkinson.³ It is like crystal, and of the same specific gravity (25° 23') as the crown glass manufactured in England at the present day. Its antiquity, however, is indisputable, and it bears hieroglyphical characters upon it, giving the name of a king (*Amun-m-het*) who lived 1450 years B.C. It is therefore now of the antiquity of 3307 years. It was found at Thebes. In later times, Alexandria appears to have been most famous for its manufacture of glass, and the Romans were supplied from

¹ Strabonis Geograph., lib. xvi.

² Vopiscus in Vita Saturnini, c. 8.

³ Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii, p. 90.

this city with the material. At Memphis also glass was probably manufactured largely, for we find that after the subjugation of Egypt by the Romans, a portion of the tribute imposed upon Memphis and Alexandria was paid in glass vases. Egypt, it is known, supplied Greece, Etruria and Rome with glass.

From history we learn that the Egyptians carried their processes of glass-making to the counterfeiting of precious stones, in which they excelled beyond the manufacturers of our own day. Their ability in this respect may serve to explain the otherwise almost incredible accounts we read of statues, obelisks, etc., being altogether composed of a few emeralds.¹ According to Pliny, this stone would be more easily imitated than any other precious one;² but the counterfeits were not confined to the emerald, for amethysts and others were also subjects of their ingenious imitation. A Theban jeweller could have had little difficulty in furnishing his customers with necklaces of fictitious stones of apparently inestimable value, as will be seen by the drawings I lay before you executed for me by my daughter from specimens in the Leyden Museum.³ The use of such articles of luxury unquestionably denotes a high state of civilization at a very early period. Sir G. Wilkinson possesses some mock pearls, so well executed, that without the aid of a lens at the present time it is not possible to detect the imposition.

The different colours of portions of glass combining to make up one cup have always excited the admiration of our artists. So successful were the ancient Egyptians in this curious art, that the several coloured portions were amalgamated together without the aid of an interior lining. The glass manufacturers of Venice attempted in vain to

¹ The colossal statue of Serapis (Plin., *Hist.*, lib. xxxvii, c. 5), in the Egyptian labyrinth, nine cubits, or thirteen feet and a half, in height; an emerald presented by the king of Babylon to an Egyptian Pharaoh, which was four cubits, or six feet long, and three cubits broad; and an obelisk in the temple of Jupiter, which was forty cubits, or sixty feet, in height, and four cubits broad, composed of four emeralds. See sir G. Wilkinson's *Popular Account of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1854, vol. ii, p. 63. See also Quintus Curtius, lib. iv, cap. 7, § 23.

² Plinii *Hist.*, lib. xxvii, c. 12.

³ The necklaces here referred to have, since the drawings were made, been published in my learned friend's (Dr. Conrad Leemans) work, by order of the government. *Monumens Egyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide*. Partie II. Tav. xxxv-xxxix; folio.

accomplish this object: the material cooling, according to the respective density of the component parts, would not set properly and regularly, and it was only by laying an inner foundation of one colour, upon which the others were applied, that they at length succeeded in imitating the ancient Egyptian manufacture. Some specimens of this description were exhibited, in 1851, at the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park. The skill evinced by the Egyptians in the disposition and arrangement of the different colours of glass on their vases is entitled to unqualified commendation. They are executed in the most delicate manner, the lines being drawn out to almost imperceptible minuteness, the curves tastefully traversing over the substance, and, in short, leaving nothing to be desired in the completion of the intentions of the ablest artist. That the Egyptians (of Roman time it must, however, be remembered) should have been able to manufacture a cup of many colours, smooth and regular in all its parts, without the aid of an internal lining, is indeed wonderful; but they carried their ingenuity still further, for they possessed the secret of introducing gold between laminæ of glass, and could also fix the peculiarly beautiful iridescent appearance offered by the oxidation of glass when it has been long buried in the earth, particularly where ammonia abounds, as in the neighbourhood of dung hills, etc. Sir Gardner Wilkinson possesses one example of this kind, the only one I have met with, which I have the gratification of laying before you. It is of the Roman period.

The glass mosaics are among the most beautiful of antiquities. The ancient Egyptians contrived, with extraordinary ingenuity, to make a regular and studied design in such a manner that the brilliant and vivid colours should be continued from the exterior throughout the entire substance of the glass in the same distinct and undisturbed line. By this arrangement, similar to that of our Tonbridge wood work, a transverse section of the glass never failed to represent to you the same picture. Specimens of this wonderful manufacture were in the British Museum, and in the collections of the duke of Northumberland, the late marquis of Northampton, sir Gardner Wilkinson, the late Mr. Rogers, and perhaps

some others unknown to me. Specimens of this description were seen by the celebrated abbé Winkelmann, who maintained that the ancients carried the art of glass making to a higher degree of perfection than ourselves. He particularly describes two pieces of this kind, and his observations are too important not to be translated and submitted to you. "One of them," he says, "though scarcely an inch in length, and the third of an inch in breadth, presents, on a dark and variegated ground, a bird resembling a duck, in very bright and varied colours, more resembling a Chinese painting than a copy of nature. The outlines are bold and decided; the colours beautiful and pure; and the effect very pleasing, in consequence of the artist having alternately introduced an opaque and a transparent glass. The most delicate pencil of a miniature painter could not have traced with greater sharpness the circle of the eyeball, or the plumage of the neck and wings, at which part this specimen has been broken. But the most astonishing thing is, that the reverse exhibits the same bird, in which it is impossible to discover any difference in the smallest details; whence it may be concluded that the figure of the bird continues through its entire thickness. The picture has a granular appearance on both sides, and seems to have been formed of single pieces, like to mosaic work, and united with so much skill that the most powerful magnifying glass is unable to discern their junction.

"From the condition of this fragment, it was at first difficult to form any idea of the process employed in its manufacture, and we should have remained entirely ignorant of it, had not the fractured surface shown that filaments of the same colours as on the surface of the glass, and throughout its whole diameter, passed from one side to the other; whence it has been concluded that the picture was composed of different cylinders of coloured glass, which, being subjected to a proper degree of heat, united by partial fusion."¹ The abbé reasonably supposes that the manufacturers would not have taken so much trouble and been contented with making a picture only the sixth of an inch thick, while, by employing longer filaments, they might have produced one many inches in thickness

¹ Winkelmann (Giov.), *Storia delle Arti del Disegno presso gli Antichi*, Roma, 1783-4; tomo i, lib. i, c. 2, pp. 34-36.

without occupying any additional time in the process ; the probability therefore was, that this had been cut from a larger or thicker piece, and that the number of the pictures taken from the same depended on the length of the filaments and the consequent thickness of the original mass. The second example the abbé describes in the following manner: "The other specimen, also broken, and about the same size as the former one, is made in the same manner. It exhibits ornaments of a green, yellow, and white colour, on a blue ground, which consist of volutes, strings of beads and flowers, ending in pyramidal points. All the details are perfectly distinct and unconfused, and yet so very minute that the keenest eye is unable to follow the delicate lines in which the volutes terminate ; the ornaments, however, are all continued, without interruption, through the entire thickness of the piece."¹

From these observations, then, it would appear that these specimens were very thin ; that the Egyptians applied and cemented them to a small slab of stone or other glass, by which they were supported and protected from injury. They were rods of glass put together of great length, according to the colours required to form the picture, and then cut off in the manner of the slices of a sausage !

The cylinders were massed together, fused by a partial heat, and afterwards veneered like our Tonbridge ware ornaments. Capt. Henvey had a specimen of this kind of ornamental glass, and it has been figured² and particularly described by sir Gardner Wilkinson, whose account confirms the opinions previously entertained by the abbé Winkelman. Sir Gardner says: "The quantity and the distribution of the colours are strikingly beautiful. The total size is about $1\frac{2}{10}$ ths inch square ; and the ground is of an amethyst hue. In the centre is a device consisting of a yellow circle, surrounded by light blue, with a bright red border, and on the four sides shoot forth bright blue rays edged with white. Around this, which is isolated, runs a square ornament of bright yellow, divided into distinct parts, formed by openings in each of the sides, and at the four corners a beautiful device projects, like a

¹ Ibid., p. 38.

² Plate xvii, forming frontispiece to vol. iii of Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, etc. See figs. 5, 6, 7.

leaf, formed of a succession of minute lines, green, red and white, the last two encircling the green nucleus, which meet in a common point towards the base, and terminate in almost imperceptible tenuity. The delicacy of some of the lines is truly surprising, and not less the accuracy with which the patterns are executed; and the brilliancy of the colours is as remarkable as the harmony maintained in their disposition, an art then much more studiously attended to, and far better understood than at the present day. The secret of making these glass ornaments is perhaps better explained by this specimen than even by those of Winkelmann. It consists of separate squares, whose original division is readily discovered in a bright light, as well as the manner of adjusting the different parts, and of uniting them in one mass; and here and there we find that the heat applied to cement the squares has caused the colours to run between them, in consequence of partial fusion from too strong a fire. Not only were the various parts made at different times, and afterwards united by heat, rendered effective on their surfaces, by means of a flux applied to them, but each coloured line was at first separate, and, when adjusted in its proper place, was connected with those around it, by the same process; and these, as Winkelmann suggests, were cylinders, or laminæ, according to the pattern proposed, which passed in direct lines through the substance, or ground in which they were imbedded."¹

Among other objects as ornaments produced in glass by the ancient Egyptians, our respected vice-president, Dr. John Lee, F.R.S., lays before the Association five specimens obtained by him from Mr. Coster of Alexandria, and now deposited in the museum at Hartwell house, Bucks. The specimens, of their proper size, are figured in plate 33, and may be thus described.

Fig. 1 represents in entirely blue glass an asp with a lion's head, an ornament not unfrequently found in gold belonging to the later times, and found also upon Gnostic seals, etc. The asp is furnished with two tails, one of which is imperfect. Strength and power were personified by an asp. Diodorus Siculus (lib. iv) tells us that the priests of Ethiopia and Egypt wore its representation coiled

¹ Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, vol. iii, pp. 96, 97.



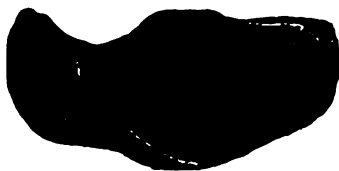
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3



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4



5

up in their bonnets of ceremony, and the diadem of the Pharaohs was ornamented with this emblem. It was so venerated as to be embalmed after death.¹ The lion was worshiped at Leontopolis, was a symbol of strength, and also typical of the sun. The asp was a symbol of royalty.

Fig. 2. A cow reposing; its head surmounted with the solar disk and feathers between the horns. The head and body are composed of blue glass with a band of white running along a portion of the back; another portion of white glass has been fused to form the lower or belly part of the animal, whilst the front paws are of a green colour. This portion of the figure is unfortunately broken. Examination of the specimen shows the several colours to have been laid on and fused between laminæ of glass, as a large blue portion is apparent on the back of the figure. A large portion of white is also placed behind the head, which seems to give effect to the colour of the glass forming the head. This figure must be referred to as symbolical of the goddess Isis or Athor, both being represented by a cow, and bearing on the head the solar disk and the feathers, signifying truth and justice. In Egyptian sculpture, Isis is figured with a cow's head, and also with a headdress surmounted by the horns of Athor, the Egyptian Venus, in which character she more probably appears in the present ornament, the general form of Isis being that of a female with a throne upon her head, as seen in the representations of the goddess in the scenes connected with the Amenti.

Fig. 3 offers another example, constituted of blue, green and white glass, and represents a jackal, the guardian of the tombs.² The arrangement of portions of white on the feet and on the neck has a very pleasing effect. The hinder part of the animal is wanting, but the fractured portion exhibits an inner portion of green between two laminæ of blue.

Fig. 4 is a fine example of blue glass intermixed with streaks of white. It represents the well known Egyptian

¹ See particulars relating to the asp and its mythology in my *History of Egyptian Mummies*, etc.: Lond., 1834, pp. 215-217. It may be well here to remark that in Egypt all animals were embalmed; but that those especially deemed sacred were preserved after a more expensive manner.

² The deity Anubis is always represented with the head of a jackal. See *History of Egyptian Mummies*, etc., pp. 184-188.

emblem, a hawk-headed scarabæus with extended wings. The combination of the hawk with the beetle, an introduction belonging to a rather late period, has been suggested as that of an union of Horus with Tore, the former being typified by the hawk, the latter by the beetle.¹ The hawk was a type of the sun, and worshiped at Heliopolis; the scarabæus was also an emblem of the sun and typical of creative power.

Fig. 5 exhibits a bull bound for sacrifice, a subject frequently seen in the pictorial representations in the tombs, and figured by most authors on Egyptian antiquities. Cows were never killed in sacrifice, nor was their flesh permitted to be eaten by the Egyptians.²

Sir Gardner Wilkinson possesses specimens of a similar description to those above described, and most of our museums furnish also interesting examples. They are, however, by no means to be regarded as of common occurrence, particularly in the solid form which Dr. Lee's examples present.

The Leyden museum contains fragments of glass of different forms in green, blue and white.³ Some of these portions are of the description formed by cylinders, and represent flowers and vases.⁴ Masses of different coloured glasses are in the Leyden collection,⁵ one of which is like to a fine specimen in sir G. Wilkinson's cabinet, in which the uncoloured glass is united with the red composition, which last has very much the appearance of *rosso antico*.⁶

Glass figures as playthings are to be seen in the Leyden museum;⁷ and chessmen composed of a like material.⁸ In my own cabinet I have various portions of glass which have served to represent the eyebrows and eyelids of mummy cases, and several glass beads and bugles of elegant forms and brilliant hues. The colours I have seen are blue, green, yellow, white, amethyst, turquoise, red,

¹ See *History of Egyptian Mummies*, etc., pp. 221-223.

² *Ibid.*, p. 202.

³ *Description Raisonnée des Monumens Egyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas*, à Leide. Par le Dr. C. Leemans. Leide, 1840; Nos. 1682-1686; p. 83.

⁴ Nos. 1685 and 1686.

⁵ Nos. 1687, 1688, 1689, 1690, 1691, 1692.

⁶ Sir G. Wilkinson tells me that it is a piece of the red composition with the uncoloured glass adhering to it; a refuse piece, left on the spot where the manufacture of this red composition was carried on, showing clearly that it was of glass—for the white mass is glass, one part coloured red, the other uncoloured.

⁷ Nos. 536, 574, p. 133.

⁸ Nos. 575-599.

and amber. The Egyptians must have had no inconsiderable knowledge as to the employment of metallic oxides, to impart such beautiful colours to their glass. Our associate, Mr. Apsley Pellatt, in his very interesting work,¹ has given representations of a variety of fragments of coloured glass, brought from Thebes by the late Mr. Wm. Bankes, showing the inventive power of the Egyptians and their executive ability in the manufacture of glass. In plate 2, fig. 3, of Mr. Pellatt's work, a head is given, which he says must have been pressed into a metal mould when the glass was soft. The colour is a rich azure blue, and is tolerably transparent. This head appears to have been worn as an amulet, and has a loophole by which it could be attached to the person. These are not uncommon. Fig. 5 of the same plate exhibits a fragment of an amber-coloured statuette, also probably worn as an amulet.

To have arrived at such perfection in the manufacture of glass as described in the previous pages, it must necessarily have been known to and practised by the Egyptians for a long period, so that it is not merely to the time of Osirtasen I, although upwards of three thousand eight hundred years since, that the art of making glass is to be referred. It had then acquired distinction, and the processes by which it was manufactured are represented in the paintings at Beni Hassan during the reign of this ancient monarch, and they, together with others in different parts of Egypt and of various epochs, give to us most interesting information as to the form of their fire or furnace, the shape of their blowpipes, the portions of molten glass at their tips (painted also it must be remarked of a pale green colour) and the figure of their vases, in the course of operation.²

We have the authority of sir Gardner Wilkinson³ for stating that representations of glass bottles are even met with on monuments of the fourth dynasty, dating long before the reign of the Osirtasens, or upwards of four thousand years ago, and that the transparent substance was made to show the red wine which they contained.

¹ *Curiosities of Glass Making*. Lond., 1849; 4to.

² See representations in sir G. Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii, p. 89; also Rosellini's *Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia illustrata*. M. C. Tav. lii; folio.

³ *Popular Account of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 59.

These are often seen in representations of the offerings made to the Egyptian divinities, and also at the fêtes of individuals wherever wine was introduced from the earliest to the latest times.

Further and finally, bottles and vases of various kinds have been obtained by travellers and antiquaries from the tombs of Egypt. I forbear entering on the subject of engraving on glass, which, as we learn from the pages of holy writ, was practised by the Israelites;¹ and for instruction in which art, it is reasonable to presume, they must have been indebted to the Egyptians.

¹ Exodus, c. xxviii, v. 17-21. The breastplate of judgment consisted of a sardius, a topaz, a carbuncle, an emerald, a sapphire, a diamond, a bizzare, an agate, an amethyst, a beryl, an onyx, and a jasper, having the names of the children of Israel *engraved* upon them.

Proceedings of the Association.

NOVEMBER 26, 1856.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE Chairman congratulated the meeting upon the very successful Congress lately held in Somersetshire, and announced the election of the following associates :

Right hon. and right rev. lord Auckland, bishop of Bath and Wells, Palace, Wells.

Capt. George T. Scobell, M.P., Kingswell, Bath.

William Tite, esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., Lowndes-square.

Colonel C. J. Kemys Tynte, M.P., Brighton.

C. K. Kemys Tynte, esq., Cefn-Mably, near Cardiff.

Sir Peregrine Palmer Acland, bart., Fairfield-house, Somerset.

Sir Arthur Hallam Elton, bart., Clevedon-court, Somerset.

Rev. H. M. Scarth, M.A., Bathwick, Bath.

W. D. Bush, esq., mayor of Bath.

Rev. Henry Street, M.A., 7, Royal-crescent, Bath.

Rev. J. E. Jackson, M.A., Leigh Delamere, near Chippenham.

Daniel Gurney, esq., F.S.A., North Runckton, Norfolk.

Francis C. Drake, esq., F.S.A., New-street, Wells.

Miss Wallop, Thurloe-square, Brompton.

Alfred Mew, esq., Lymington.

George Stokes, esq., New-street, Spring-gardens.

Henry Hockey Burnell, esq., 20, Cheyne-walk, Chelsea.

Edward Roberts, esq., 16, Holles-street.

R. Wilbraham Falconer, M.D., Bath.

William Long, esq., Lansdown-place, Bath.

Charles George Lewis, esq., Charlotte-street, Portland-place.

Joseph Wm. Collins, esq., St. John's Parsonage, Bridgwater.

William Stradling, esq., Chilton-super-Polden, Somerset.

Thomas Brushfield, esq., 5, Church-street, Spitalfields.

Reynolds Prendergast, esq., 14, St. James's-square.

Thomas Jones Barker, esq., Gloucester-road, Regent's-park.

Thomas Henry Hovenden, esq., Great Winchester-street.

George Hawkins, esq., 88, Bishopsgate-street Without.

Corresponding member : Mr. James Jeffrey, Bath.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :—

To the Royal Society. For their Proceedings, Nos. 21 and 22. 8vo.

To the Archæological Institute. Their Journal for March and June, 1856. 8vo.

To the Middlesex Society. Transactions, Part I. 8vo.

To Mr. Mason. Archæologia Cambrensis for July and Oct. 8vo.

To the Editor. Gentleman's Magazine from July to Nov. 8vo.

To the Author. Memoir of the Life and Times of John Carpenter, by Thomas Brewer. London, 1856. 8vo.

To Mr. Turner. Guide to the Magistracy and Lieutenancy of Berks, by J. S. Roberts. 8vo.

To Mr. Halliwell. Tradesman's token of 1649.

To Mr. Wakeman. „ „ various counties.

To Dr. Iliff. „ „ „ Bridgwater and Bath, and a cabinet pierced for 640 coins.

Mr. Charles Ainslie exhibited an early padlock of iron, of a globular form, so constructed that the whole shackle could be drawn out when the bolt is thrown back. It was found a few months back in Fleet-ditch, near the bottom of Holborn-hill.

Mr. Gunston exhibited two articles of domestic use, found in Ireland. The one, an iron key, two inches and three-quarters long, with piped stem, blank web and richly wrought bow, of the time of Elizabeth, found in the lower lake of Killarney. The other, a pair of brass nutcrackers, found in Londonderry, and stated to be of the time of William III.

Mr. Wood called the attention of the meeting to some discoveries made in November 1853, in digging for the foundation of Messrs. Berens, Blumberg and Co.'s warehouse, Cannon-street West, and exhibited two articles there found. The first was the neck of a graybeard, of brown stone ware (*temp.* James I), exhumed from a depth of ten or eleven feet from the surface. The second, a glass bottle, about three inches high, obtained from a depth of eighteen feet. Much uncertainty exists regarding the age of bottles of this form, some contending that they are not more than one or two centuries old, whilst others refer them to the Roman era; it is therefore highly desirable that every circumstance connected with their discovery should be carefully recorded, with a view of fixing their age, and the Council would earnestly invite the members of the Association to bring forward any specimens of the kind they may possess. The bottle exhibited presents marks of oxydation from having been a long time buried in the earth.

Mr. Halliwell presented to the Association a rare small brass token. In the centre of the *obverse* is a boar's head, and around it, AT THE BOAR'S HEAD; on the *reverse*, IN SOUTHWARKE 1649. In the centre, ^{B.}W.M. The Boar's Head in Southwark, according to Chalmers, was part of the benefactions of sir John Fastolfe to Magdalen college, Oxford.

Dr. Wm. T. Iliff presented to the Association various tradesmen's tokens, of which the following is a list:—

Bridgewater. 1. *Obv.* Front view of a house, "J. Holloway & Son, drapers, &c., post office. *Ex.* "1794." *Rev.* Part of a castle and bridge," "B. Water half penny." "For change, not fraud." *Ex.* "On demand we promise to pay."

Bath. 2. *Obv.* A view of the entrance into the "Botanic Garden." "He spake of trees from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon." *Ex.* "Bath token 1794." *Rev.* Shrubs growing on a wall, and a large cedar tree, "Even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall." *Ex.* "1 Kings, ch. 4, v. 33."

3. *Obv.* A crowned head in profile, with bow and quiver, "Bladud, founder of Bath," "Success to the Bath waters." *Rev.* A tea urn, "Ironmongery, braziers, and cutlery." *Ex.* "F. Heath, 1794." *Ex.* "Payable F. Heath, Bath."

4. *Obv.* A camel and rising sun, "Teas, coffee, spices, and sugars." *Ex.* A star. *Rev.* Front view of a public building, "India House, 1794," in a circle. "M. Lambe & Son, tea dealers and grocers, Bath." *Ex.* "Payable by M. Lambe & Son."

York. 5. *Obv.* A west view of York cathedral. *Ex.* "York, 1795." *Rev.* View of a castle, with soldiers upon the walls, and others passing a drawbridge, "Clifford's Tower, A.D. 1100." *Ex.* "York built A.M. 1223. Cathedral rebuilt A.D. 1075."

Mr. T. Wakeman presented to the Association a number of town and tradesmen's tokens of the seventeenth century, together with a few other pieces, of which the following is a list, arranged in order of counties:—

Dorsetshire. Sherborne. *Obv.* A bishop's mitre. *Rev.* In field, Sherborn farthing for the poor. 1669.

Gloucestershire. Bristol. *Obv.* The armes of Bristoll. *Rev.* A Bristol farthing. In field: c. B. 1650. Three similar to the above, but of the years 1652 and 1662. Cirencester. *Obv.* A phoenix. *Rev.* In field: Cirencester farthing. 1668. Gloucester. *Obv.* Arms of Gloucester. For necessary change. *Rev.* Lvk Nvrse Maior. In field: c. G. 1657. *Obv.* The armes of Glovcester. *Rev.* A Glovcester farthing. In field: c. G. 1669. Tetbury. *Obv.* Y^e armes of the byrrovgh. *Rev.* This farthing is ownd in Tetbvry 1669. Wotton under Edge. *Obv.* Golden fleece, Daniell Stodard in. *Rev.* Wotton Vndridge. 1667.

Hertfordshire. Hertford. *Obv.* Will Welch in Hertford silk weaver. *Rev.* Arms of Hertford. His halfe peney 1665.

Monmouthshire. Chepstow. *Obv.* Francis Herbert mercer (in?). *Rev.* Chepstow his halfe penny 1671.

Somersetshire. Bath. *Obv.* The armes of Bathe. *Rev.* A Bathe farthinge. In field: c. B. 1670. Bridgwater. *Obv.* The armes of Bridgwater. *Rev.* A Bridgwater farthing, 1666. Taunton. *Obv.* A tun pierced by a t, between two roses. A Tavnton farthing. *Rev.* A castle. By the constables. 1667.

Worcestershire. Evesham. *Obv.* A shield. The bvrrow of Evesham. *Rev.* For necessary exchange. In field: B. E. Kidderminster. *Obv.* A figure. Edward Chamberlin. *Rev.* Of Kedderminster. In field: c. E. P. Worcester. *Obv.* Shield charged with three pears. Fran: Richardson of y^e citty. *Rev.* Of Worcester his half peny. In field: E. F. A. *Obv.* Arms as the above. Richard Bedoes. *Rev.* Mercers arms between B. B. His halfe penny.

Wales. Anglesey. *Obv.* Druid's head within a chaplet of oak. *Rev.* P. M. Co. 1788. We promise to pay the bearer one penny. *Edge.* On demand in London Liverpool or Anglesey. N. Wales. *Obv.* Laureated bust to the right. North Wales farthing. *Rev.* Shield with prince's feathers. Pro bono publico 1793. S. Wales. *Obv.* As the above. South Wales farthing. *Rev.* As the above.

Ireland. Cork. *Obv.* The armes of Cork. *Rev.* A true lover's knot between c. c. A Cork farthing 1659.

Various. *Obv.* Bust to the left. Is. Newton. *Rev.* I. H. Farthing 1793.

Card marker of brass. *Obv.* Bust to the right. Georgivs III Dei gratia. *Rev.* Arms of England. M.B.F. ET. H. REX. D.B. ET. L. DSR. ATET. 1761.

Medalet struck in 1763. *Obv.* Bust to the left. Iohn Wilkes Esq. a true Briton. *Rev.* Britannia with a cap of liberty, resting her right hand on a shield in which is "45," the noted number of the *North Briton*.

Spain. *Obv.* Bust of Philip IV between the letters A. R (for Arragon). *Rev.* Arms. Barcino civi 1653 (Barcelona).

Nuremberg jetton. *Obv.* Orb and cross. HANS. SCHVLTES. (ZVI?) NVREMB. *Rev.* Crowns and fleur-de-lis. GLVCK. KVN. PT. VON. GOT. ISTWAR.

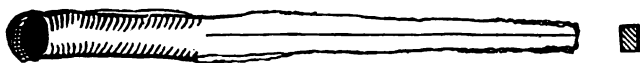
DISCOVERY OF SAXON GRAVES AT WINSTER, DERBYSHIRE.

Communicated by Mr. Thomas Bateman of Youlgrave, near Bakewell.

"On the 13th of October 1856, in consequence of information kindly afforded by Miss Worsley, I went to Winster, a small town about six miles from Bakewell, to view an interment that had been accidentally brought to light by removing a bank of earth in the garden behind the residence of Miss Worsley. There was no external indication of such a deposit having been made; and if any mound had ever existed, it was

probably leveled at the time the garden was first laid out. The bones had been disturbed by the labourers previous to my visit; but it was observed that the body had been placed upon the natural surface, in a contracted position, with the head pointing towards the north-east. I found, on examination of the contents of the grave, that the deceased had been accompanied by an iron knife or spear head, and the lower stone of a quern or hand-mill. The former had been broken by the finders; and from its section exhibiting two edges, it may be most properly called a spear. The body was covered with large stones of the description met with in the neighbourhood, yet evidently collected from different places, some being grey water-worn limestones from the surface of the land; others, black limestone, of shaly texture, that had evidently been quarried. The earth whereon the skeleton lay exhibited traces of a large fire; and amongst the ashes were a few particles of calcined bone, and the remains of wood. Many of the stones, including the quern, had also been in the fire. The height of the superincumbent earth was nearly five feet, and it appeared to be quite unmixed with stones. I observed the lower jaw of an ox lying about, which was found during the progress of the work, but did not learn that it was connected with the interment, though from discoveries of former years I am inclined to think that it would be.

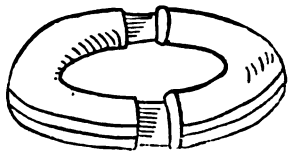
"A second interment, of similar character, was discovered on the following day, about three yards further on in the bank of earth. The mode of sepulture was in every point identical with the former; and the bones having been, by the judicious kindness of Miss Worsley, preserved untouched for my inspection, I was enabled, by removing them myself, to make the following observations as to the manner of burial. A large wood fire was made upon the surface of the ground, in which the stones used in covering the body, and part, at least, of the weapons of the deceased, were first burnt, as is abundantly evidenced by their present condition. After the fire was exhausted, the body was laid within the space where it had been kindled, upon the right side, with the knees drawn up and the head pointing towards the north-east. At the head were some pieces of a very coarse earthen vessel quite destitute of ornament; and at the back of the skeleton were found the following objects: a large iron spear-head, of coarse workmanship, of the unusual length of



two feet, found with the point towards the feet of the skeleton; a small curved instrument of iron, five inches long, originally inserted in a wooden handle, the bone ferule of which yet remains; and a kind of bead-formed ring, of stoneware or porcelain, an inch and a half diameter, slightly ornamented with



two incised lines round the outer edge, which, but for its brittleness, might be supposed to have been part of a fibula. After the completion of these arrangements, the stones, before mentioned as having been burnt, were carefully placed over the body, and earth was finally heaped above the whole, to the height of between four and five feet. It is very remarkable that, amongst the stones around this interment was found the upper half of the same hand-mill,



of which the lower stone was buried with the first discovered skeleton. It is a very neatly wrought example of the beehive-shaped quern, having both a funnel-like hopper for the reception of the grain, and a hole at the side for the handle. It is made from the millstone grit of the neighbourhood, obtained probably from Harthill Moor, which is not more than two miles distant, and where numerous fragments of similar querns have been, from time to time, turned up by cultivation. From the great heat to which it had been exposed, it was split into several pieces.

The human bones were much decayed, owing, I think, to the body having been interred whilst the grave and surrounding earth was hot: perhaps, however, some more recondite cause must be sought for to account for their nearer approximation to their original dust than those of the other skeleton, which would manifestly be of contemporary date. I noticed in this grave one or two bits of calcined bone and the tooth of a sheep, the latter unburnt. Some bones of a dog, and a few shapeless fragments of iron, were found in the earth, a little distance above the interment, before my arrival. The whole of the articles exhumed from both graves have been, by the united kindness of Charles Carill Worsley, esq., and his sister, Miss Worsley, added to the collection of antiquities of the writer."

Mr. Wills made the following communication to accompany the exhibition of various

EGYPTIAN FIGURES PRETENDED TO HAVE BEEN FOUND IN LONDON.

"I avail myself of this opportunity to warn antiquaries that the nefarious practice of palming upon the uninitiated articles discovered abroad as recent London finds, is again rife amongst us. This practice, so elaborately exposed and justly denounced by our hon. sec., Mr. Syer Cuming, some time back, seemed for a space to have received a check through the publicity given to it in the pages of our *Journal*. The fraud

has, however, many phases; and a new one is now presented to us. The treasures of Chiusi, of Veii, Tarquinii, and Vulci, are allowed to repose in peace, whilst the gods of the Pharaohs are being introduced to us as newly revealed *trouvailles* from the streets and lanes of our own capital. Having no wish, however, that this bold assertion should rest upon unsupported testimony, I beg to lay before you a few of the Egyptian *reliquiæ* which are professed to have been exhumed in London within the last few months.

"The specimens I have selected are, with one exception, all of bronze; the exception being a little figure of *Isis*, in lapis-lazuli, stated by the excavator to have been discovered in Mark-lane. There is a seated figure of *Isis Thermuthis*, her head surmounted by the disc and horns, having the uræus on her forehead, and holding the little *Har* or *Horus Harpocrates* on her knee; on the right side of whose head is the mystic lock, the scalp being crossed by the uræus. This specimen was professed to have been found in Basinghall-street. Next we have a figure of *Osiris Pethempantes*, with his high cap, plough, and flail, professedly unearthed in Wood-street. The upper part of a singular little image of *Pasht*, or *Bubastes* (the Egyptian Diana), holding in her right hand what appears to be the remains of a sceptre, and in her left the lion-headed ægis; affirmed to have been brought to light in Bishopsgate-street. A short figure, much corroded, and covered with arenaceous concrete, which is, perhaps, the *Cynocephalus*, stated to be from Lower Thames-street. A small image of the sacred bull, *Apis*, with the lunar disc between his horns; asserted to be found in Gracechurch-street. And last, though not least in interest, a small figure of the *Noshr*, or vulture, the emblem of *Maut*. This object, which even in Egypt is of rather rare occurrence, was impudently said to have been exhumed in Fleet-street.

"Often have we been told that there was once a temple of Diana where St. Paul's now rears its majestic head; and another, dedicated to Apollo, on the spot occupied by our venerable minster in the west. And who can tell but these pseudo finds may not hereafter suggest to some enthusiastic archæologist the notion that ancient *Londinium* could also boast of temples to Isis, Osiris, and other deities of the land of Egypt. But I am bound to say that the men who sold me these figures knew not that they were Egyptian. They offered them as *Roman* relics discovered in the several localities above specified. As such I purchased them; for I felt that by becoming as it were a willing dupe, I should be better prepared to sound the tocsin of alarm, and thus become instrumental in throwing a stumbling-block in the path of fraud and chicanery."

Mr. H. Syer Cumming made the following communication on a guipure fall, of the seventeenth century. "Seldom is it our good fortune to meet with so magnificent and perfect an example of guipure as that now placed before us by Mr. E. Foord, of Fulham. It is a straight piece of needle-

work, measuring about a yard in length, and nearly eight inches and a half in breadth; and appears to have been worn as a fall, attached to the upper edge of the body of the dress. Such falls are seen in the portraits of noble dames of the seventeenth century, as for instance in the one I exhibit of '*the Infanta Dona Catharina*' of Portugal;¹ and something very similar, in '*Irish point*', is again revived in the present day under the name of *berthe*. The species of guipure of which this article is formed is denominated '*rose*' or '*raised point*'; a title it received from the outlines, etc. of the flowers and scrolls being wrought in high relief by means of cords of different thickness laid on the ground and then overworked with thread. Each device was made separately, and afterwards united into the required form by long open stitches, which may be compared, in some degree, in appearance to a coarse spider's web. This fall is stated to have been worn at the court of queen Anne by a member of the Honywood family of Kent; but from its close resemblance to some specimens of rose point, which I now produce, and the date of which is well authenticated to be the early part of the reign of Charles II, I think we are justified in referring Mr. Foord's guipure to the middle of the seventeenth, rather than to the commencement of the eighteenth century. There is, however, nothing extraordinary in a lady adorning herself in old lace on any state occasion, and the eyes of queen Anne may probably have looked with admiration upon this costly piece of attire.

"The rose point, which I lay before you, consists of nine separate flowers and scrolls, wrought in the boldest style of this beautiful variety of guipure; and so far as they go, are quite equal in size, design, and execution, to those introduced into the fall. This rich and elaborate kind of work was much used during the last half of the seventeenth century, for ruffles, lappets, the long ends of neckcloths, and other articles of both male and female costume; but as the subject of a lace will probably occupy the attention of the Association at some future period, I refrain from saying more on the present occasion."

Mr. Pettigrew, on the part of the rev. Fred. Bagot, of Rodney Stoke, Wells, exhibited a fine specimen of latten reliquary, upon which Mr. Syer Cuming made the following observations.

"The curious little chest exhibited by the rev. Mr. Bagot, is evidently a *feretrum* or *feretory*—a portable shrine, destined for the conservation of sacred relics, and once doubtlessly belonged to some ecclesiastical

¹ This coarsely executed but rare print was "*sold by Mathew Collins at the three Black birds in Canning street*". Beneath "*the true portraiture*" are the following lines:

"Religious love in wisdom's worth	Both joynd in one this shadow shows
The truest beauty best sets forth	What splendor with the substance goes."

This print was probably published shortly before Catharine's marriage with Charles II.

establishment. Feretra of this description were frequently borne in religious processions; and when stationary were generally placed either upon or above the altar, in the ambre near it, or else deposited among other treasures in the sacristy of the church. Many of the feretra were of elaborate and costly workmanship, the enameler, goldsmith and lapidary, expending their utmost skill in their adornment. Some of the richest were made at Limoges, hence *cofra Limovicensis* became a common title for such shrines, which were however known also by the names of *bahuts*, *châsse*, etc.

"Though the employment of feretra is of considerable antiquity, there being both written and pictorial evidence of their forming part of the sacred furniture of the Anglo-Saxon church, still the oldest examples now existing in England cannot be referred to a more distant epoch than the twelfth century. Among the earliest, is the beautiful shrine preserved in the church chest at Shipley in Sussex, which appears to be the work of the close of the twelfth century. It is six inches high and seven inches long, formed of wood partially covered with plates of enamelled copper, the central subject on the front being the crucifixion of our Lord, the figures of St. Mary and St. John standing on each side the cross, with two nimbed angels above.¹ A shrine of the same form as that at Shipley, but bearing the story of the three holy Magi, is preserved in the Royal museum at Copenhagen, and is said to have belonged to the famous Axel or Absalon bishop of Lunden, who flourished towards the close of the twelfth century.² In the Jermyn-street museum, is an elegant little feretrum, of about the commencement of the thirteenth century, the front of which is adorned with large flowers upon a blue field, and the ends with nimbed figures of saints. From the crested roof rise three small pillars surmounted by gilt orbs, which are in all probability emblematic of the three persons of the blessed Trinity.

"During the first half of the thirteenth century, the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury formed a very favourite subject for the fronts of feretra. Instances of its adoption occur on the so-called St. Ethelbert's shrine in Hereford cathedral, in the so-called Croyland shrine in the Doucean museum at Goodrich-court, in the feretrum in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries, and in that formerly in the possession of our late lamented president, Ralph Bernal, esq.³ All these examples are of

¹ A coloured representation of this shrine will be found in Cartwright's *Rape of Bramber*. There is also an engraving of it in the *Gent. Mag.* for April 1836, p. 369. A shrine bearing the same subject, but of somewhat later date, is given in Worsaae's *Afbildninger*, pl. 110, fig. 399.

² It is engraved in Jacobæus's *Museum Regium*, tab. xiii, fig. 8, p. 56. In the Bernal collection was a shrine with the same story, and which is stated to have been presented by pope Eugenius IV to Philip le Bon, duke of Burgundy, containing at that time the relics found in the Chartreux, at Dijon, in 1430.

³ The Hereford shrine is engraved in the *Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet*, vol. i. The Bernal shrine is given in the sale catalogue, p. 107.

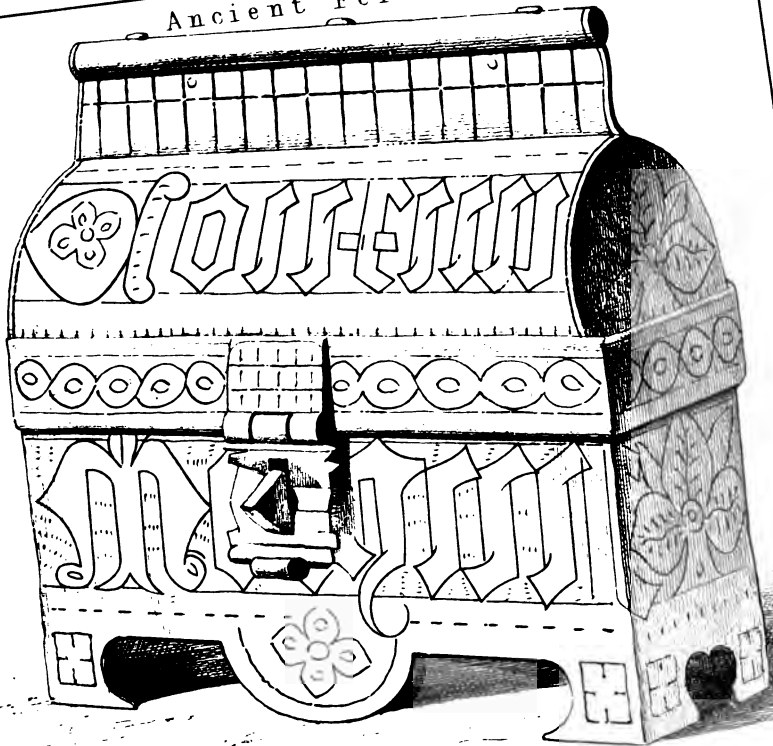
the same primitive form, consisting of an upright-sided chest opening at back, with a coped top surmounted by a perforated crest, and standing upon four square feet, and therefore in general contour very similar to the Shipley and Copenhagen shrines. At a later period, the feretra were frequently of still richer and more elaborate design than the foregoing, the sides being fashioned into arcades, beneath which are placed the effigies of saints and martyrs, resplendent with gold and jewels. A shrine of a very enriched description, of the close of the fourteenth century, is engraved in our *Journal*, vol. i, p. 171.

"Of a more humble character, yet little inferior in interest to the above, is the feretrum brought to our notice by the rev. Mr. Bagot. (See plate 34.) It measures five inches and a half high, about five inches and a half long, and two and a quarter wide, and is made of stout *latten*, or *mestling* or *mastlin*, as it was also called, a mixed metal resembling brass, which from being brought in large quantities from Cologne, is frequently described in old documents as '*Cullen plate*'. Though the general form of this feretrum reminds us of those already referred to, it yet differs considerably from them in detail. The top instead of being coped is arched, and made to open upon two hinges, and when closed is fastened in front by means of a perforated hasp falling over a sort of turn-buckle in which is a catch. The cover is surmounted by a broad crest with a cylindric edge or *bowtell*, and the feet are no thicker than the sides of the chest, being cut out of the same plates. Both sides of the crest are engraved with a double band of chequers, the alternate squares being hatched. The ends both of the cover and chest are adorned with large flowers. The broad rim of the cover is decorated with a sort of *guilloche* pattern, and on each face of the feet is a square of '*diaper-work*'. The most important part of the embellishments is an inscription in large gothic letters on a hatched field, which is graven on the front and back of the cover and on the front of the chest. The reading of the inscription is obscure, and its meaning very indistinct. It appears to be CONFINI—MAGNI—MADOCUS. These are given on plate 34.

"A feretrum nearly similar to Mr. Bagot's specimen is engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1779, p. 71, and is described by the correspondent as—'a brass box, which was found buried about fifteen feet deep, near Holbeach in Lincolnshire. It was itself secured in a wooden one, and contained some ancient silver coins and manuscripts. The coins the finder disposed of to a traveller; the manuscripts he burnt, alleging for a reason that he could not read them; and the box was sold for old brass to a dealer in that article, from whom it was purchased by Mr. Samuel of Lincoln, the present owner of it.'

"In the Doucean museum at Goodrich-court is another feretrum almost identical with the one before us, and that given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, just referred to. Nothing of its history is however

Ancient Feretrum.



Inscription.

The inscription on the front of the coffin is written in a stylized, Gothic script. It consists of three lines of text, each enclosed in a decorative border. The first line begins with a large, ornate initial 'M' or 'N' followed by the word 'MAGNUS'. The second line begins with a large, ornate initial 'R' followed by the word 'RECTOR'. The third line begins with a large, ornate initial 'M' followed by the word 'MAGNUS'. The text is arranged in a way that it reads from right to left.

On the Front

known. Mr. Douce attached a label to it merely stating—‘I bought it in 1815 of a Jew, who kept a shop of miscellaneous articles near the Pantheon in Oxford-street.’

“The inscriptions on these three feretra are all evidently to the same effect, whatever that may be. The late sir Samuel Meyrick thought the letters on the Doucean specimen made the words—*Lou fun, Lou fun adoherud miaho*, but frankly acknowledged that he might be quite wrong in the conjecture.¹ The import of the legends is certainly very obscure, and has not as yet received a satisfactory solution. Considerable uncertainty also exists regarding the exact age of these feretra, some referring them to the twelfth century, whilst others consider them as the work of a much later period. The convex form of their tops and the fashion of the letters composing the inscriptions, however, combine in assigning them to the early part of the fourteenth century as the era of their production.”

Mr. F. A. Carrington made the following communication through Mr. Planché :

“ON THE NAME OF COWARD.

“It has been made a question whether this is derived from the want of courage of the person who bore it in the reign of Henry the Third, or whether he was a *cowherd* who had the charge of the cattle. It is pretty clear that the latter is the true derivation. The not uncommon surname of Shepherd helps us to this conclusion, and further it will be shown that the cowherd was a person who had charge of very valuable property belonging to his lord or sovereign. In the roll of arms of the reign of Henry III, edited by sir Harris Nicolas (pp. 15, 16), we find between the arms of Barkele, Lovell, Foliott, De Roos, Segrave, and of Butler, Fitzwarren, Longespee and Bohun, ‘John de Neville Cowerde mascule d’or et de goules ung quartier de hermyne.’ ‘John de Nevill le Forrestier d’or ung bend de goules croiselles noire.’

“There is no mark of degradation, nothing to denote disgrace, and the ‘Cowerde’ is put before the Forrestier.’

“In *Fleta*, a commentary on the laws of England, a book of authority, supposed to have been written circa 13th Edw. I, the officers of a manor are mentioned. They are fourteen in number, commencing with the seneschal and ending with the auditor of the accounts; and the treatise on these officers and their duties occupies from chap. 72 to chap. 88 of the work, the office and duties of the *vaccarius*, or cowherd, having chap. 86 devoted to them:—Senescallus, ballivus, marescallus, coquus, prepositus, cultor, fugator carucarum, pastor, custos porcorum, pistor, messor, carectarius, vaccarius, caseatrix, auditor compotorum,—being the steward, bailiff, farrier, cook, reeve, cultivator, driver of the plough, shep-

¹ See *Gent. Mag.* for August 1836, p. 160.

herd, keeper of the pigs, baker, hayward, carter, cowherd, cheesemaker, auditor of the accounts.

"In the MS. *Lives of the Berkeley Family*, in the Herald's college (an abstract of it was published by the rev. T. D. Fosbroke), it is stated (p. 320 of the MS., p. 126 of the abstract) that Thomas lord Berkeley, third of that name, who had the custody of Edward II, "according to the custom of the time, kept in his own hands all the demesnes of his manors, and stocked them with his own kine, oxen, sheep, swine, and other cattle"; and it is stated that, 7th Edward III, he sheared 5,775 sheep at Beverstone, belonging to that and the adjacent manors. And it is stated (*Id.*, p. 247 and p. 116) that, in the time of Thomas lord Berkeley, second of that name, who came into possession of his property 9th Edward I, that, in a baronial incursion made by his son and others on the property of Hugh le de Spencer, at Newport in Wales, they took away, *inter alia*, 160 bullocks, 400 heifers, and 500 kine, with their issue two years old. With such herds as these great persons (the sovereign included) must have kept, it is manifest that the *vaccarius* must have been a person of considerable importance."

Mr. G. Vere Irving read a paper on the Cissbury camps, being supplementary to that read at the Congress. They will be printed and illustrated in a future number of the *Journal*, together with a communication from Mr. W. T. Collins on a hitherto undescribed camp at Ruborough, in the parish of Broomfield, Somersetshire; with the reading of which the meeting terminated.

DECEMBER 10.

JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were given for the following presents :

To the Chief Commissioner of the Board of Works, for Mackenzie's Architectural Antiquities of St. Stephen, Westminster. Folio.

To the Archaeological Institute, for their Journal for September. 8vo.

To the Publisher, for the Gentleman's Magazine for December. 8vo.

To the Somersetshire Archaeological Society, for their Proceedings, vol. vi, 8vo.

To the Institute of British Architects, for Memoir of the Commendatore Canina, and History of Alnwick Castle. 4to.

To the Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. Mémoires pour l'Année 1855, tom. xxii. 8vo.

" " " " Bulletins du Premier et du Deuxième Trimestre de 1856. 8vo.

Mr. James Clarke, of Easton, communicated to the Association that he had lately obtained a small Roman urn, found in a sand pit on Sparrow's farm in Kettleburgh, four inches deep, and four over the rim. It

is of a stone colour, and slightly marked with a diamond pattern. There have also been found, at Easton, a Calais groat of Henry IV, V, or VI; with annulets; also a token of Henry Stebbing, grocer, of Woodbridge, 1667. At Wickham market, a penny of Edward I, of the London mint; and a token (John Dawson) in Framlingham. Mr. Clarke forwarded impressions of the tokens; and also one of a silver medal, in his possession, of Charles I and his queen, which was the work of Simon de Passe.

Mr. G. R. Corner laid before the Association an iron coffer or forcer of the sixteenth century. It was composed entirely of iron, and measured ten inches in length, four inches and three quarters in breadth, and, with the four balls on which it rests, is five inches and five-eighths high. Every part seems to have once been richly decorated with devices in gold, upon a deep red field; but the surface is now so much corroded that it is impossible to determine the character of the embellishments. On the lid of the coffer is a handle, the middle of which is ornamented with a projecting collar, and the ends with knobs, which serve to secure it in its staples. Immediately in the centre of the lid is the key-hole, which conducts us to the interior fastening, which constitutes the chief interest of the coffer. The complicated lock has six bolts or catches, which, when the cover is down, pass under a rim surrounding the inner edge of the coffer. The two bolts next the hinges are fixtures, the other four are moved at the same instant by the key. This lock has a seeming air of security, which it does not in truth possess; for however intricate it may appear, a stout wire slightly curved would act upon the bolts as readily as the key itself. Within the coffer, at a little distance from the front, and attached to the bottom with a screw and nut, is an oblong square case of iron, six and a half inches long, about three and a half inches deep, and less than an inch in breadth; the upper edge being the cover. It was probably designed to hold a deed, or some other document of value, whilst the rest of the box was occupied by cash or jewelry. It is of German manufacture, of about the time of Henry VIII; and the key, though perfectly well adapted to the lock, is, in all probability, of a somewhat later date.

Mr. G. Wright exhibited a Romano-Egyptian lamp and three coins, stated to have been found together in making an excavation in front of the White Tower, Tower of London, in October last. The lamp, which is of a very late period, is formed of dull brown terra-cotta; the opening for the oil being surmounted by a disc flanked by flails and other objects. The coins consist of a first brass of Gordian III (A.D. 238), much worn; a second brass of Maxentius (A.D. 306), *obv.*, IMP. C. MAXENTIVS. P. F. AVG.; *rev.*, VICTORIA AETERNA AVG.; *exergue*, MOSTR. (*Moneta Officinæ Secundæ Treverorum*); and a second brass of Constantine the Great (A.D. 323), *obv.*, CONSTANTINVS. P. F. AVG.; *rev.*, SOLI INVICTO COMITI; *exergue*, PTR. (*Pecunia Treverensis*).

Mr. G. R. Corner exhibited two large medallions in lead, of Italian workmanship of the sixteenth century, one presenting a profile, to the left, of L. IVNIUS BRVTVS, with draped bust; the other, a profile, to the right, of LVC. AN. SENECA, with the name VANI beneath the shoulder. They are both of bold and masterly execution, and were obtained some time since at Rome. It may be remarked that the earliest known head of Brutus occurs upon the money of the *Junia* family, of which he was the paternal ancestor. He is there represented with a rather long visage, with beard and mustache, as in the medallion before us. The head, however, must be regarded as nothing more than an ideal portrait; and the same may also be said of that of Annæus Seneca, of whom no authentic bust is known.

Captain A. C. Tupper exhibited the remains of a Roman *poculum*, of light red terra-cotta, three inches and five-eighths high, found about fourteen feet beneath the surface of the earth in digging a grave in the upper part of Widcombe cemetery, Bath, in August last. The vessel is of a rather unusual form, differing in contour from any given in Akerman's *Archæological Index*, though it may be compared with one engraved in pl. x, fig. 24.

Mr. C. Ainslie called attention to some curious examples of ancient glass brought to light in London. Four of the specimens were stated to have been discovered, with fragments of Samian ware, in Tower-street, in 1855. They consist of two *unguentarii*, or *lachrymatories*, about three inches and three-eighths high; the upper portion of the globose body of an *epichysis*, or wine jug; and a little bottle, two inches and one-eighth high, of white glass, the upright sides being ribbed. The bottom of the latter specimen exhibits traces of the *punting*, which some consider as indicative of mediæval rather than Roman work. Mr. Ainslie also produced one of upwards of forty bottles, found together in a cesspool in Cannon-street, very near Queen-street. It is of a cylindrical form, with a short neck and a flat rim, and measures two inches and a half high. Such bottles have frequently been sold as *Roman*; but their late origin is too apparent to admit of doubt.

Mr. C. Ainslie also exhibited to the Association twelve coins, said to have been found in London within a few months past. The earliest is a British gold coin, weighing 1 dwt. 3 grs., which is identical with one engraved by Ruding, pl. i, fig. 7. *Obv.*, rude lines crossing the field in different directions; *rev.*, horse and charioteer to the left. This piece is said to have been found in the Thames, near London Bridge.

The following Saxon pennies are affirmed to have been exhumed in making a sewer in one of the courts in Cornhill:—

ETHELRED II, A.D. 797. *Obv.*, bust to the left; ETHELRED REX ANGLO. *Rev.*, small cross; LEPPINE M—O EORFP. (*York*.)

EDWARD I, A.D. 901-924. *Obv.*, small cross; EADVEARD REX.

Rev., DEORVALD MO, in two lines across the field, divided by three small crosses.

CNUT, A.D. 1017.

Another. *Obv.*, bust to the left, with conic helmet and sceptre; CNVT REX A. *Rev.*, voided cross with annulets; BEVNGNC ON LVND. (*London.*)

Another. *Obv.*, bust to the left, crowned; CNVT REX ANGLO. *Rev.*, cross upon large quatrefoil; EGELPINE O(n) LVN. (*London.*)

Another. *Obv.*, bust to the right, with conic helmet and sceptre; CNVT REX A. *Rev.*, voided cross and annulets; GODRICE ON LVND. (*London.*)

Another. *Obv.*, bust to the left, with conic helmet and sceptre; CNVT REX ANG. *Rev.*, voided cross and annulets; PVLFPINE NO LINCO. (*Lincoln.*)

Another. *Obv.*, bust as the last; CNVT REX AN. *Rev.*, voided cross and annulets; POLEMER ON ORDPI. (*Norwich.*)

Another. *Obv.*, archiepiscopal cross; CVNET R. *Rev.*, small cross with two pellets; CVNNETTI. (*Marlborough.*) This penny is looked upon as one of the hoard of coins discovered at Cuerdale, in Lancashire, in May 1840.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, A.D. 1042-1066. *Obv.*, full-faced bust, crowned; EADPARD REX ANG. *Rev.*, small cross; DVLFWI ON LVNDE. (*London.*)

Halfpenny (*forgery*). *Obv.*, bust to the left; EDFERD REX. *Rev.*, voided cross; letters ill defined.

Mr. Ainslie also exhibited a jetton of brass, circa 1600. *Obv.*, shield charged with two bends vair, on a canton a demi-stag courant; crest, a dog's head erased. *Rev.*, a large four; D.I.T.B.FOORTHE. This singular jetton was, together with upwards of forty similar ones, found in the Thames in June 1856.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read the following paper

“ON THE DISCOVERY OF CELTIC CRANIA IN THE VICINITY
OF LONDON.

“I beg to call the attention of the Association to a discovery, or rather a series of discoveries, of human remains and weapons in the neighbourhood of London, and will at once confess that my object in so doing is rather to elicit than to impart information; for up to this moment the facts which have come to my knowledge are so few and fragmentary, that they serve rather to incite than to satisfy inquiry. So far as I have been able to collect, there has been found in the Thames during a period of several months, certainly extending from December 1854 until October 1855, numerous human crania, of *two distinct types*, mingled with weapons of *bronze and iron*. The exact spot where these remains were discovered has been most jealously concealed by both workmen and curiosity dealers, but by dint of vigilant inquiry, and the employment of means

which it is not necessary to detail, I have so far succeeded in unraveling the mystery, as to leave no doubt upon my mind that the locality in question is *Battersea*, and that the *reliquiæ* were brought to light whilst constructing the foundations of the piers for the support of the new suspension bridge across the Thames. The party from whom I obtained the most distinct and important part of the narrative, stated, that the skulls and weapons were scattered from the Middlesex shore to about the middle of the river, where the greater quantity were found: that the majority of the skulls were of a long oval form, with elevated backs, and rather depressed foreheads, and that among them were a few other crania of somewhat shorter proportions and thicker substance: that the bronze weapons consisted of spears and swords, and that the few iron arms are mostly spear-heads. My informant sketched the form of the skulls, and though his drawing was exceedingly rude, it was sufficient to show at once that the long oval crania were those of the *Celta*, whilst the others of less elongated contour, were as certainly *Roman*; the presence of the bronze and iron weapons affording additional and indubitable evidence of such being the fact.

"From another person, I obtained not only the name of the locality where these discoveries were made, but also one of the bronze weapons there discovered, and which I have much pleasure in exhibiting to the Association. It is the lower half of a *gwaew-fon*, or spear, measuring five inches in length and seven-eighths across where the blade is fractured. At the lower edge of the base are the remains of two holes, through which pegs or rivets have passed to secure the weapons in the notched end of the staff, which was generally of ash. When perfect, this *gwaew-fon* must have closely resembled the one engraved in our *Journal*, iii, p. 60, which, it is important to remark, was found with other bronze weapons in the bed of the Thames near Vauxhall, and therefore no great distance from the presumed site of our Celtic Golgotha.

"Though this broken *gwaew-fon* is the only relic from Battersea that I have been able to meet with, our valued associate, Mr. T. Bateman, has been so fortunate as to obtain two of the Celtic crania and a fine leaf-shaped *cleddyv*, or sword, from this interesting spot. Mr. Bateman states that this sword is a very beautiful specimen, twenty-four inches and a half long, weighing thirty-two ounces; and with the exception of being fractured across the middle, is as sharp and good as when it was made. It is more carefully finished than the majority of such kind of swords, and has seven rivets still remaining, which originally fastened the horn coverings of the haft. Both the skulls in Mr. Bateman's possession are void of the facial bones. Of one, he says, that "The frontal bone has been fractured during life, as there is a circular orifice upwards of three quarters of an inch in diameter through it, which is nicely healed round." The other skull is conjectured to be that of a female. The following are the dimensions of both the specimens:—

	Male cranium.		Presumed female cranium.	
	Inches.	10ths.	Inches.	10ths.
Horizontal circumference .	. 21	1	. 19	6 (?)
Longitudinal diameter .	. 7	3	. 7	1
Frontal region,—length .	. 5	2	. .	
" breadth .	. 4	7	. 4	3
Parietal region,—length .	. 5	2	. 4	3
" breadth .	. 5	4	. 5	3
Occipital region,—breadth .	. 5	3	. 5	

"Since Mr. Bateman added the above remains to his collection, two other human crania from the same locality have been offered to him for sale, together with some horns of the red deer, an animal formerly abounding in the *Sylva Caledonia*, which once engirt the valley of the Thames on every side. The skulls were in an imperfect condition, a circumstance in no way extraordinary, when we reflect that in all probability the tide has ebbed and flowed over them for full eighteen centuries.

"Such is the substance of the information I have been able to glean on this curious subject. The inferences deducible from these facts are, that a *melée* took place between the *Celtæ* and *Romans* near the western bank of the Thames, and that the former were driven into it by their assailants, some of whom, however, were carried into the stream with them—friend and foe alike perishing together.

‘Promiscuous heaps of slain laid there,
Their life gore tinged the waters clear,
Spreading around the ruddy stain,
Which marked the spot of strife and pain.’

"So few discoveries of Celtic remains have been noted in or near London, that I gladly avail myself of this opportunity of recording two which have occurred within these few years. The first is that of a skull, now in the Hunterian Museum at the Royal College of Surgeons, which is there stated to have been exhumed from a depth of thirty-six feet below the surface of the road in making a sewer in Watling Street. It is a well developed cranium, in tolerably good preservation, measuring about seven inches and three-tenths in longitudinal diameter, and five inches in breadth across the prominences of the parietal bones. I have not been able to ascertain whether any other portions of the skeleton were found with this cranium, or any implements or arms.

"The second discovery is of a somewhat more definite character, and made September 13, 1848, whilst excavating for the sewer in the Minories, near Tower Hill. After the removal of the superincumbent soil the workmen came upon a substratum of black earth, in which were numerous Roman remains, consisting of broken bricks, roof and drain tiles, with fragments of pottery, mostly of Upchurch manufacture; and beneath these remains, and inhumed in the native gravel, lay a skeleton of a full grown person of rather large dimensions. These relics of mortality were

cast forth from their ancient resting-place in the most careless manner, no opportunity being allowed for minute investigation; and the cranium now before you was the only portion of the skeleton I was able to obtain. The zygomatic arches, malar and nasal bones, are unfortunately broken away; but the remaining portion of the skull is in excellent condition, and yields the following results on measurement,—

	Inches.	10ths.
Horizontal circumference	21	
Longitudinal diameter	7	3
Frontal region,—length	5	1
“ breadth	4	7
Parietal region,—length	5	1
“ breadth	5	4
Occipital region,—length from point of lambdoidal suture to margin of the great foramen	4	7
„ breadth at the base of lambdoidal suture	4	3

“The sutures of the skull are delicately marked. The occipital protuberance is more than ordinarily sharp and hooked, and the mastoid process of the temporal bone of considerable breadth, and indicative of strength, agreeing in this respect with all the Celtic crania I have examined. There is little in connexion with this discovery to indicate the precise period of interment. The presence of the skeleton below the Roman remains would at first suggest the notion that the burial was anterior to the Roman dominion in Britain; but then we must remember that cremation was the prevailing custom among the unconquered Celtæ, and that the inhumation of the entire body is indicative of a later age,—without, indeed, we go back to a præ-Celtic period, when the crania were of a very different configuration to the one exhumed in the Minorities.¹ We must also bear in mind that human remains (and, in one instance at least, those of a Celt) have been found in close proximity to Roman villas, as in Watling-street, City,² Allington and Borden in Kent,³ and at Whittlebury in Northamptonshire,⁴ and which remains there is every reason to believe belong to the Roman era. Taking, therefore, into consideration these two important facts, namely, that the body was inhumed entire, and in the immediate vicinity of a Roman villa, we cannot help leaning to the idea that the burial occurred under the *régime* of the Cæsars, and that the deceased was, in all likelihood, some Celtic retainer,—a part of the domestic establishment of one of the merchant princes, whom Tacitus tells us congregated around the shores of the Thames as early as the days of Nero.”⁵

The rev. Mr. Kell communicated a paper “On the Ancient Site of

¹ The forms of the præ-Celtic crania are well exhibited in our *Journal*, vii, p. 210.

² *Journal*, x, 191. ³ *Ib.*, iv, 65; vi, 448. ⁴ *Ib.*, vii, 108. ⁵ *Annal.*, xiv, 33.

Southampton; with Observations on the Sculptured Stones at Clausentum". (See pp. 207-211 *ante*.)

Mr. Tress Beale exhibited three rubbings of brasses in Goodhurst church, Kent, presenting the effigies of—1, John de Bedgebury, 1424; 2, Walter Culpepper and Agnes Roper his wife, the former of whom died 24th of November, 1462, and the latter, 2nd of December, 1457; and 3, sir John Culpepper, son of Walter, and husband of Agnes daughter of John de Bedgebury, and heiress of her brother John, the last of the Bedgebury family. Also rubbings from brasses in Bodiam church, Sussex, of one of the Bodiam family; and a figure in a shroud; both of which have been engraved, but very incorrectly, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March 1837; with inscriptions to the memory of William Bathersden, vicar of Bodiam, and Katharine his wife; and of Thomas Grove and Christina his wife.

Mr. Planché made some observations on the Bodiam brasses, and read the inscriptions belonging to those from Goodhurst, which have fortunately been preserved by Weever, and promised some further information on the subject.

The meetings of the Association were then adjourned over to Wednesday the 14th of January 1857.

JANUARY 14, 1857.

GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected :

Jacob F. Y. Mogg, esq., of Midsomer Norton, Somersetshire.
William Eardley Amiel, esq., R.N., 37, Blomfield-road, Maida-hill.
Charles Edward Jenkins, esq., K.M., Great Prescott-street.
Edward Gould Bradley, esq., Heathland Lodge, Hampstead.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

To the Society. Proceedings of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Session 1855-56. Vol. viii; 8vo.

To the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine for January. 8vo.

To Mons. A. Pichot. L'Amphithéâtre Romain, ou les Arènes de Poitiers. Par Bourgnon de Layre. Poitiers, 1843; 8vo.

„ „ Six lithograph plans relating to the same.

The chairman, in accordance with the desire of the council, gave a brief sketch of the life and career of the late Mr. John Britton, enumerating the principal of his contributions to architecture and antiquities, and paid a deserved tribute of respect to his memory.

Mr. Pettigrew also adverted to the loss the Association had sustained by his decease; but looked back with melancholy satisfaction to having

been honoured with his presence so lately as at the Congress held in Somersetshire in the past autumn. Mr. Britton had furnished him with some memoranda, relating principally to Wells cathedral, which he had introduced into his paper on that edifice, printed in the *Journal* (see vol. xii, pp. 353-355), and which probably constituted the last antiquarian essay proceeding from his pen. Mr. Pettigrew added that he had, accompanied by his old friend, Mr. Nathaniel Gould, the chairman, and a deputation from the Royal Institute of British Architects, attended the remains of Mr. Britton to the grave, as a token of the estimation in which his high character and attainments were held. He rejoiced to say that the Institute of Architects had resolved to pay a gracious mark of respect to Mr. Britton, by erecting, as a memorial from architects, a tablet to his memory, to be placed in the cathedral of Salisbury, that being the first of the description he had engaged upon, and the one belonging to the county in which he had been born, so far back as the year 1801.

The evening was occupied by the reading of Mr. Planché's paper "On the Statuary of the West Front of Wells Cathedral." (See pp. 1-33 *ante*.)

A discussion ensued, in which the chairman, Mr. Pettigrew, and Mr. Black, took part; and the thanks of the meeting were voted by acclamation to Mr. Planché for his excellent discourse.

JANUARY 28, 1857.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected :

Henry Rodwell, esq., 33, Old Broad-street, City.

Wm. Henry Forman, esq., Union Club.

John Storr, esq., King-street, Covent Garden.

Harry Wilmot Buxton, esq., 2, Sidney-street, Brompton.

Mr. Gunston exhibited some specimens of ancient spurs. No. 1 was obtained from the river Thames; had a rowel consisting of twenty-four small points, and belongs to the fourteenth century. No. 2 was found at Barnet. No. 3 was obtained from the Thames, and is of the time of Henry VI: the neck of this spur measures four inches in length. No. 4: this specimen belongs to the seventeenth century, is of very fine brass, and richly chased; it has a rowel of eight long points; it was exhumed at Athlone, in the province of Leinster; and along with it were found several fragments of horse furniture and a highly patinated boss from a bridle-bit, similar to the example found at Dublin, and engraved in vol. x, plate 20, of the *Journal* of the Association—this was also exhibited by Mr. Gunston. No. 5, a spur dug up near Dublin, of brass,

decorated with a chevron pattern, and exhibits traces of having been gilt: the rowel of this spur is wanting.

Mr. Wills laid before the meeting some tokens obtained from Somersetshire. They consisted of a Bath farthing, which has on the obverse "*the arms of Bathe*", and on the reverse "*a Bathe farthinge*", with *C.B.* 1670 in the field. All the tokens issued by this city, Mr. Wills has seen, bear the same date and device, but are certainly not all from the same die; so that we are, perhaps, justified in supposing that the 1670 only marks the year when the mint was first set up.

Bridgwater issued farthings in 1666. A specimen occurs among the tokens lately presented to the Association by Mr. T. Wakeman. The little town of Bruton had a mint in Saxon times; and again came forth with its money in the seventeenth century. Its tokens bear on the *obv.*, a view of the old stone bridge, surrounded by the words, "*the towne of Brewton.*" *Rev.*, a large B and a tun, 1660; "*for necessary chainge.*"

The tokens of Chard are not numerous; but Mr. Wills exhibited two examples. The earliest has on the *obv.*, the maiden's head, with the words "*Robert Sweet.*" *Rev.*, "*Of Chard, 1667.*" In the field, *S.R.S.* The other, "*a Chard farthinge, 1671.*" *Rev.*, "*in Sumerset shir.*" In the field, —? *H.* A curious piece was issued from this place by the portreeve in 1669. It bears on the *obv.* a tree between two birds, who are pecking at it: inscription, "*the burrough of Chard made.*" *Rev.*, "*by y^e portrif. for y^e poore.*" In the field, *C.B.*, 1669.

At Crewkerne, on the borders of Dorset, there was a Saxon mint as early as the time of Ethelred II; and here the tradesmen of the reign of Charles II commemorated their names and callings upon their little tokens. Of these Mr. Wills produced three examples:—1, *obv.*, a shield charged with nine tobacco flowers (?), with a crescent in a canton; "*John Grenway.*" *Rev.*, "*of Crewkerne*"; in field, *G.I.I.* 2, *obv.*, a pestle and mortar; "*John James, 1666.*" *Rev.*, "*in Crewkerne*"; in field, *J.J.T.* 3, *obv.*, a lion rampant; "*Roger Brewer of*"; *rev.*, "*Crookehorne, 1668*"; in field, *B.R.R.* This piece offers a curious instance of orthography, differing from the other Crewkerne tokens. Two *o*'s are employed instead of the *w* in the first syllable, and in the last an *ho* is thrust in between the *e* and *r*.

The orthography of names upon the Somersetshire tokens is frequently of much interest. Those issued "*by y^e bayliff of y^e burrow*" of Ilchester read "*Ivilcheste*", the place deriving its title from the river *Ivil*, upon which the town is seated.

Of Ilminster: *obv.*, cross swords between the letters *T.P.*; "*a Illmister farding.*" *Rev.*, a stocking between the letters *T.S.*; "*a Illmister farding.*"

At South Petherton: *obv.*, three sugar loaves; "*John Willy in*". *Rev.*, "*South Petherton*"; in field, *W.I.D.*

The tokens of Taunton are the most numerous. Those issued by the constables have the rebus displayed on the *obverse*, a T piercing a tun. One of Mr. Wills' Taunton pieces is of brass, the other of copper. They both exhibit the rebus on the *obverse*, with the words, "*a Taunton farthing.*" *Rev.*, a castle; "*by the constables, 1667.*" This is the only date hitherto found upon the constables' tokens; but several dies have evidently been employed in their production. There is a scarce variety of Taunton farthing having on the *obverse* a tower, with the word "*Taunton*" above it, and on the *reverse* a large tun. A few of the Taunton tradesmen had tokens. Mr. Wills exhibited a farthing having on the *obverse* the arms of the Weavers' company, and the name "*Abraham Crocker of Taunton*"; *rev.*, "*for necessary change, 1666*"; in the field, *C.A.P.* $\frac{1}{4}$. A similar piece to this was engraved in the *Gent. Mag.* of November 1790, p. 983.

Of Yeovil, Mr. Wills exhibited a token. On the *obverse*, 1668, "*made by the portreeve of*"; *rev.*, "*the burrough of Yeovill*"; in the field, *E.R.*, beneath a large crown.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read a paper "On some Anglo-Saxon Arms found in the Thames", and exhibited various specimens from his own collection, and a fine example belonging to Mr. G. R. Corner, F.S.A. (See *ante*, pp. 202-206, and plate 31.)

Mr. C. E. Davis communicated a paper "On the Bishop's Palace at Wells." (See pp. 177-186 *ante*.)

Mr. H. Syer Cuming called attention to a singular pack of playing cards, which had been lent to him by a friend for exhibition. They are four inches and seven-eighths high by three inches and one-eighth wide; not printed but limned, and portray various characters, minute representations of the cards appearing in their hands, on portions of their dress, or as appropriate accessories on baskets, etc. The court cards are distinguished from the rest by a good sized copy of the ordinary card being drawn in one of the upper corners, or else placed before the figure. A few cards in each suit may deserve mention. The knave of hearts is a member of the Society of Friends; the queen represents the card as a framed picture held by a servant before her mistress; the king is a withered old gentleman with a star on the breast of his blue coat, a pig-tail, and his hands in a fur muff. The five of diamonds introduces Toby the learned pig discovering the card; the six is stuck against a wall, among advertisements, an elderly gentleman, "with spectacles on nose", gazing at it; the seven appears as a quartering in "*the old maid's arms*", which has for supporters a pig and a monkey, the motto being "*Nemo me impune lacessit*"; the nine (the curse of Scotland) is cut through by a Highlander with his claymore; the ten fronts the hat of a newsman with a long tin horn; the knave is a jew pedlar; the queen, the jolly Dollalolla; the king, a sailor with a sack on his back, inscribed "*EL-*

Thetis”; the three of clubs is a gamester dashing the cards upon the ground; the eight, a gipsy telling a sailor’s fortune with cards; the knave is a footpad with crape-covered face, and club in hand, stopping a countryman; the queen is a picture on an easel, the artist being seated before it; the king is a framed picture of the monarch, inspected by a venerable gentleman; the nine of spades is on the breast of a man who stands in the pillory for “*perjury*”; the knave is a sheriff’s officer tapping a soldier on the shoulder; the queen, a masculine looking female in a man’s coat; the king, a gardener with a spade and a pewter pot, on which are the words “*the bon king*”. The whole of the figures are spiritedly executed, and well coloured; and at the lower corner of the ace of diamonds is the name of the artist, E. Locker, 1799.

Mr. G. R. Corner, F.S.A., exhibited three highly interesting deeds relating to property held by the Ashmole family at South Lambeth. The earliest is superscribed, “Mr. Siderfin his release to Mr. Dugdale in trust for Mr. Ashmole.” This is a tripartite indenture, made the 14th day of July, thirty-fourth year of the reign of Charles II, 1682; between Robert Siderfin of the Middle Temple, London, gentleman, of the first part; Elias Ashmole, of the Middle Temple aforesaid, esquire, of the second part; and John Dugdale, of the city and county of Coventry, esquire, of the third part. It is executed by Ro. Siderfin and E. Ashmole, and sealed and delivered in the presence of Edw. Haberfield and Solomon Rixon.

The second deed is superscribed, “John Plumer’s release, May 4, 1686.” It is an indenture made between John Plumer of Gray’s Inn, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, and Mary his wife, of the one part; and Elias Ashmole, of South Lambeth, in the county of Surrey, esquire, of the other part. It is executed by John Plumer and — Plumer, in the presence of Tho. Roche, Wm. Avery, Charles Titley, and Edward Gerard.

The third deed is superscribed—“Conveyance from Elias Ashmole to sir John Dugdale and Mr. Thursby, for Elizabeth Ashmole’s joynture of lands in South Lambeth.” Is dated June 26th, 1686, and made between Elias Ashmole of South Lambeth of the one part, and sir John Dugdale of the city of Coventry, knight, and William Thursby of the Middle Temple, London, esquire, of the other part. This indenture is executed by E. Ashmole, in the presence of Tho. Roche and Charles Titley. The Elizabeth mentioned in this instrument was the daughter of sir William Dugdale, and became Ashmole’s third wife in 1668. The event is thus noted in his diary—“November 3. I married Mrs. Elizabeth Dugdale, daughter to William Dugdale, esq., Norroy king of arms, at Lincoln’s-inn chapel. Dr. William Floyd married us, and her father gave her. The wedding was finished at 10 *hor. post merid.*” The sir John Dugdale was this lady’s brother, and succeeded Ashmole as Windsor herald, Oct. 1675.

The mansion at South Lambeth once occupied by the Tradescants, and then by Elias Ashmole, is now known as *Turret house*. There is reason to believe that a considerable portion of the present dwelling was built by Ashmole to contain his collection, but with the exception of the staircase, all is so modernized that it is difficult to trace the residence of Ashmole. It was here that he drew his last breath on May 18th, 1692, and as the lines upon his monument truly say—*Sed durante Musæo Ashmoleano, Ozon. nunquam moriturus*.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited an embroidered night-cap of the seventeenth century, and made the following observations.

“A friend has placed in my hands for exhibition this evening, an interesting example of what was formerly called a ‘night-cap,’ but which was in fact worn almost as much in the daytime whilst in undress, as during the hours of repose. The specimen before us may be described as a large loose skull-cap, formed of four gores of fine white linen, with a broad turned-up edge, and having a tassel surrounded with a frill of narrow point-lace at the apex. It is lined throughout with white holland, and each gore, and the broad edge, are beautifully embroidered in white thread in a rich, bold, but somewhat stiff pattern, much like that seen on the damask coverings of the high-backed chairs of the first half of the seventeenth century, to which period this piece of apparel is referrible.

“The use of caps closely resembling what we designate as night-caps, is of classic antiquity. The vases of Etruria, and the frescoes and terracottas of the Roman epoch, offer ample proof that the *pileus* was worn by aged persons and invalids during the day; and from the expression of Julius Capitolinus, that Antonine covered his head, as if desirous of sleep, we may perhaps infer that at times at least, some sort of cap was also worn at night.¹

“Judging from mediæval representations of persons in bed, it would seem that the male sex generally went to rest bare-headed,² unless it be a king that is depicted, when the royal brow is always encircled with the crown.³ The ladies, on the other hand, have their heads enveloped in hoods, cauls, etc., decked out in the most approved style of the then prevailing fashion, and so far as the head is concerned, as well suited to appear at a ball or a tournament as in the dormitory.⁴

“During the Tudor dynasty, the custom of wearing night-caps in undress became almost universal among the gentry. They were made of

¹ Capitolinus in Antonino.

² In the death of Whityngton, given in our *Journal* of September 1856, p. 283, he appears to have a towel bound about his head.

³ The king in the frieze in Edward the Confessor’s chapel at Westminster is represented in bed with his crown on.

⁴ Douce (i, 201) gives a copy of a wood-cut of the time of Edward IV, in which the bride appears in bed with the horned headdress.

silk and velvet, richly wrought in gold and coloured threads. One of the items in an inventory of the palace of Greenwich, *tempore* Henry VIII, is 'A night-cappe of blacke velvett embrowdered.'¹ And the fine night-caps of the age of Elizabeth are ridiculed by Davies in his *Epigrams*, where he says:—

'The gull was sick, to shew his night-cap fine,
And his wrought pillow overspread with lawn.'

And—

'When Zoylus was sick, he knew not where,
Save his wrought night-cap, and lawn pillowbear.'

"The fine linen night-caps of the early part of the seventeenth century were at times embroidered with black silk, with spangles intermingled. An example so adorned was formerly preserved among other articles of dress of this period in the Leverian museum.

"Some of the portraits of Charles I represent him in an embroidered night-cap, with a broad upturned edge trimmed with rich point. He has on a white cap of this kind in the curious piece of painted glass mentioned in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March 1831, p. 194. And the white quilted satin cap described in our *Journal* for September 1855, p. 232, and which the king is said to have worn on the scaffold, is an elegant night-cap of the period. The specimen before us is a good example of the caps worn by the fine old English gentlemen at the close of the reign of Charles I.

"The night-caps worn during the Protectorate, and indeed down to the middle of the last century, were principally of black, green, and crimson velvet. We are reminded of the use of caps of the latter hue by the old sign of the *Father Red Cap*, still existing at a public-house near Camberwell-green. And from the employment of such night-caps at drinking-bouts, they at one time acquired the title of *fuddling caps*; a name occurring among other head coverings in Durfey's *Wit and Mirth, or Pills to purge Melancholy*—

'The sickly cap, both plain and wrought;
The fuddling cap, however brought.'

"As the night-cap was always worn by gentlemen when they put off their enormous wigs, the two articles became at length in a manner so connected, that the abandonment of the peruke was soon followed by that of the cap. Still a few clinging to old fashions continued to wear their night-caps regardless of all the scoffs and gibes of the rising generation. But the comfortable old cap, and the good old wearer, gradually disap-

¹ Harleian MSS., 1412. We learn the price of the ordinary caps of this period from the bill of expenses of the famous Peter Martyr and Bernard Ochyn, in 1547, who were invited to England from Basle by archbishop Cranmer, and in which we find paid—"for two nyght cappes of vellvet for them, 8s." (See *Archæologia*, vol. xxi.)

peared together, and for years it was only used during the hours of sleep, to the no small injury of the wearer's health. The night-cap was, however, only under an eclipse, and with the introduction of the cigar, it emerged from its obscurity and reappeared in all its ancient splendour of velvet and embroidery, under the more polite designation of *Greek* or *smoking cap*. Little change is wrought in the fashion of the cap, but how changed is the wearer. No longer does it cover the gentleman but the *gent*, and instead of being worn by the sage philosopher in the study, it now decks the head of the listless loungeur in the divan. Truly may we say with the old song—

‘ This was not in time of yore,
When this old cap was new.’ ”

FEBRUARY 11.

• T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected:

Lord Bateman, lord lieutenant of the county of Hereford,
37, Brook-street.

Lady Cooper, Halswell house, near Bridgwater.

Thanks were voted for the following presents:

To the Royal Society. For their Proceedings. No. 23. 8vo.

To the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine for February. 8vo.

Mr. Moore exhibited a brass seal found among the rubbish of an old house taken down at Bower Hinton, in Martock parish, Somerset. It represented a fine, bold fleur-de-lis, around which was *S.ADE.DE.STON-DONE*.

The rev. W. A. Jones exhibited the impression of a ring found at Bridgwater, near the church of St. John. It represented two heads (male and female) face to face, and between them two flowers springing from one stalk. The legend, *IE.SV.SEL.DAMOVE*. (*Je suis le scel d'amour*.)

Mr. G. P. Slade exhibited a drawing and an impression of a ring, the property of J. W. King, esq., given to one of the Pickford family residing at Barrow, near Bristol, on the occasion of their aiding him (Charles II?) in his escape. On the face are two winged angels supporting each by one hand a royal crown, and holding in the other a branch of palm or olive. Between the figures is a rose tree springing from the ground.

Mr. Syer Cuming exhibited a well preserved second brass of Antoninus Pius, struck in commemoration of the victory obtained by Lollius Urbicus over the Brigantes, A.D. 144. *Obv.*, laureated bust to the right, with both ends of the ribbon falling behind the neck; *ANTONINVS.AVG. PIVS.P.P.TR.P.XVIII*. *Rev.*, draped figure to the left, seated on a

rock, and supporting the head on the right hand, the elbow resting on a large oval shield, behind which is a small vexillum, BRITANNIA.COS.
 XIII. *Exergue*, s.c. This coin, though of a well known type, is of interest from having been discovered lately at Nine Elms, Battersea.

Mr. Wills exhibited an iron spur of the fifteenth century. There is nothing in the long eight-sided neck and curved shanks of this spur calling for special notice, only so far as they enable us to fix its date to about the middle of the reign of Henry VI; but the rowel is of a very unusual fashion. In its present mutilated condition it consists of three flat spear-shaped spikes; but between each of these was once a long sharp spicule, the rudiments of which are now scarcely perceptible; but having seen a rowel of this kind in a nearly perfect state, its original form can be ascertained. The remaining spikes bring to mind the rowels in vogue at the commencement of the reign of Henry VII; but then the little spear-blades were more numerous, and the shanks and necks of the spurs were altogether of a different fashion. The end of the neck of this specimen has unfortunately been fractured; and the clumsy workman, in his attempt at restoration, has fixed the rowel so far within the notch that there is no longer room for it to rotate. This spur was found in making excavations for Mr. Humphrey's warehouse, near St. Saviour's church, Southwark, in 1837.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited a great variety of nut-crackers belonging to different periods, and made, among other observations, the following remarks:

“ON NUT-CRACKERS.

“The Roman youths had many a game in which nuts formed the chief feature;¹ hence it was the practice of the husband on the first night of his nuptials to scatter nuts among the boys, intimating thereby that he relinquished childish sports, and thenceforth was to act as a man.² In a fruiterer's shop at Herculaneum were found vessels full of carobs, almonds, chesnuts, and walnuts; and nuts of various kinds formed part of the *bellaria*, or dessert of the old Romans. But anything that Roman history can furnish is but a thing of yesterday, a modern usage, compared to what Ireland can produce, for there do we meet with tangible proofs of nut-eating amid the *reliquiæ* of the stone period. On the floor of the ancient timber hut, discovered June 1832, in Drunkelin Bog, Inver, Donegal, were found a profusion of hazel nuts and nut shells, and a large flat slab of freestone, in which was a hollow, to all appearance for the reception of the nuts, which were cracked therein by a round shingle stone employed as a hammer.³

¹ Ovid, *De Nuce*.

² Plin., xv, 22; Virg., *Ecl.* viii, 30; Catull. lix, 131; Pers., i, 10.

³ For an account of this discovery, see *Archæologia*, xxvi, 361.

"Stones with small cavities in them just large enough to steady a nut have been found in various parts of Ireland; and there can be no question that, when the teeth were not employed as crackers, nuts were opened by percussive instruments. Among rude tribes, these instruments, no doubt, consisted of two stones;¹ but among civilized races we might expect to find instruments of a more refined character, yet, with the exception of the Irish nut-stones, no contrivance has been identified, as for the purpose of nut-cracking, which dates further back than the sixteenth century; towards the close of which, and during the succeeding one, we find three distinct kinds of nut instruments in vogue, which may be distinguished by the titles of lever, screw, and compass-shaped nut-crackers.² The lever nut-crackers represented human figures with large mouths to receive the nut, the lower jaw being attached to a dorsal limb, which, moving upon a peg passing through the neck or shoulder, compressed the shell against the roof of the mouth. As this odd contrivance evidently imitated the practice of breaking the shell with the teeth, we ought, perhaps, to regard it as the earliest form of modern nut-cracker. Two exceedingly curious examples of Iconic nut-crackers are preserved in the Doucean museum at Goodrich Court. The head of one is covered with a skull-cap, beneath which the hair falls in locks, in the same way as seen on the old northern sculptures. One of the limbs terminates in a whistle, an article of table use, which preceded the hand-bell as a servant's call; and on it is carved a shield, and 'Sept' $\frac{6}{7}$ 28, 1685, G. W. N.' The second specimen referred to has a long head, with a Vandyke ruff. On the broad part is carved a bird and 1668. The dates on these nut-crackers must be looked upon as the periods when they came into the possession of some former owner; for that with 1685 is certainly as early as the middle of the sixteenth century, and the one with 1668 not later than the reign of James I. They are, however, given to the time of Charles II in Shaw's *Ancient Furniture*, where they are both engraved.

"The old Iconic nut-crackers, with some slight modifications, continue in use at the present day, and may be purchased in many of the London toyshops. They are principally, if not entirely, the products of Sonnenberg in Saxony, and Gröden in the Tyrol. They are, it must be confessed, of far coarser workmanship, and ten times uglier than those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

"Of the second kind of nut-crackers, or those which break the shell by means of screws, there exist several varieties, which are frequently

¹ A stone club for Pandanus nuts, from Egmont, Ireland, is preserved in the Ethnographical room of the British Museum.

² The areca-nippers of India may lay claim to high antiquity, but they can scarcely be compared with the European nut-crackers. An abridgment of my paper on the subject will be found in *Journal* viii, 156.

most absurdly exhibited, and most fraudulently sold, as '*ancient thumb-kinks*'. One, of the time of Charles I, in the Doucean museum, consists of a short cylinder open at both ends, and having a screw passing through the side, the whole being of steel.¹ Others were made in the form of rings, with the broad thumb-piece of the screw more or less richly ornamented. I exhibit a sketch of one formed of brass, of the first half of the seventeenth century, in which the thumb-piece is pelta shaped, perforated with the figure of a heart, and decorated with an eyelet hole pattern. At the base of the ring is a disc graven with the letters MB, which is intended as a signet. I have here also a steel nut-cracker, of the time of William III, or queen Anne, made on the same principle, but instead of a ring it has a stirrup-shaped loop, and the screw can be turned out so as the end may be employed as a tobacco-stopper.

"The screw nut-crackers were not always made of metal. Mr. T. Wills exhibits one in which the screw is made of larch, and the cup-shaped receptacle for the nut is turned out of a piece of casuarina wood; its date is about the year 1780. The cup-formed receptacle is still found in the Swiss nut-crackers of our own time. There is an instance in an admirably carved specimen in larch wood, made in the year 1850. The front of the cup represents a grotesque head with high tasseled night-cap, forcibly reminding us of the terminal heads of the fools' baubles of the middle ages. The screw passes up the neck of the bust, its long columnar stem serving as a convenient handle.

"Mr. A. Thompson has kindly called our attention to a very singular pair of bronze, or rather brass nut-crackers, of Italian workmanship. They are made like a pair of forceps, the inner surfaces of the nipping parts being concave and deeply furrowed, so as to hold the nut more firmly. The branches or handles are curved, each is encircled with broad rings, has a human head at the upper part, and a serpent's head at the end. This rare and elegant specimen has a very classic air about it, but is palpably a production of the sixteenth century, and one of the earliest examples of nut-crackers that have yet been noticed.

"What may be termed the compass-shaped, or modern form of nut-cracker, seems to date from about the commencement of the seventeenth century. I exhibit a pair of what are called Elizabethan nut-crackers. They are of fine stout brass, the upper part enriched with the eyelet hole pattern, and the straight handles with spiral flutes and bulbous terminations. A pair of steel nut-crackers of the same period, and somewhat of the same fashion as these, was exhibited among the works of Ancient and Mediæval Art at the Adelphi in 1850, and are engraved in *The Ladies' Companion* of April 13th, 1850, p. 248.

"A short time back Mr. Gunston exhibited to the Association a small

¹ This is engraved in Shaw's *Ancient Furniture*.

pair of brass nut-crackers of the seventeenth century, found in Londonderry, and I now produce a pair closely resembling them in every respect. The upper part of each limb is tri-facial, and graven with six chevron lines: the stems are cylindric and banded at the extremities, and the lower portion of the handles bowed and pointed. The bowed handles continued in fashion down to the middle of the eighteenth century, as is evident from a pair of steel nut-crackers of about the year 1760, now before us.

“The last grand improvement in nut-crackers came into vogue about the commencement of the present century. The little ledges on the inner sides of the limbs were abandoned, and by means of double-jointed hinges, the limbs were made to turn backward and forward, so that a small hazel or huge walnut could be cracked with the same instrument.”

Mr. George Wright exhibited some relics relating to Caxton the first English printer, and bishop Nicholas Ridley the martyr, consisting of a chessboard and complete set of chessmen, made from a beam of the ancient printing office of the former, which fell down in November 1845, and an inkstand from the oak tree planted by the latter at Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1518, which was blown down in 1841. These mementos belonged to the late Mr. Richard Clarke, of the Chapel Royal, whose researches into the history of “God save the King” are well known. The cover of the inkstand is formed of a portion of wood taken from the Chapel Royal during the repairs in the reign of William IV.

FEBRUARY 25.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The earl of Albemarle, F.S.A., was enrolled as an associate, and it was announced that the Congress for 1857 would be held in the county of Norfolk, under the presidency of his lordship, who had most kindly acceded to the desire of the Council on this occasion.

Thanks were ordered to be given for the following presents:—

To the Royal Society. For their Proceedings. No. 24. 8vo.

To the Archaeological Institute. For their Journal for Dec. 1856. 8vo.

To the Spalding Club. For a volume on the Sculptured Stones of Scotland. 4to. Plates.

Accompanying the latter very important work (in relation to the subject of which the members are referred to the *Journal* for 1855, vol. xi, pp. 164-170, containing an obituary notice of the late Patrick Chalmers, esq., with remarks on his work on *The Ancient Sculptured Monuments of the County of Angus, including those at Maigla, in Perthshire, and one at Fourdown, in the Mearns, Edinburgh, 1848, folio*), was the following letter addressed to the Treasurer:—

“General Register House, Edinburgh, 4th Feb., 1857.

“Sir,—I am instructed by the members of the Spalding Club of Aberdeen to forward to you a copy of the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, for the library of the British Archæological Association.

“These monuments, so far as known, are unique. They have been drawn and engraved with great care; and the Spalding Club, desirous to promote the study of this very curious branch of antiquarian research, unanimously resolved to present certain copies to libraries, and your library has been selected as one of them.

“The Spalding Club hopes that thus the work may be brought under the notice of scholars who would not otherwise have access to it, and who may be induced to devote their attention to the study of the remarkable inscriptions there delineated.

“I have the honour to be, sir, your faithful servant,

“JOHN STUART, *Secretary.*”

Mr. James Clarke, of Easton, acquainted the Association that there had been lately found in Suffolk, at Brandeston, a half groat of Edward III, London Mint; at Easton, a token of John Capon, grocer, of Framlingham, 1657; a small milled Roman urn, in Brick-kiln field, which was unluckily broken by the spade; at Wickham Market, a sixpence of Charles I, m. m., on both sides a tun. Mr. Clarke also added a list of other tokens now in his possession:—Anne Englefield, in Uxbridge; George Lecanes, in Ingatestone, 1668; William Whittaker, mercer, in Watford, 1668; Nathaniel Boosey, of Bocking, in Essex; Richard Swinborne, in Witham, in the field a hart; Thomas Beckwith, in Coggeshall, in the field three birds; Abraham Voll, in Colchester, 1668; Phillip Robats, of Aby, in Nofocke; Kings Lyn farthing, 1668, the arms of Lynn; for the use of the poor, Great Yarmouth, 1667; Richard Poley, of Queinborough, 1666; at the Ship without (a ship) Temple Barr, 1649 (^{s.m.}); at the Golden Hart, in (a heart) Leadenhall Market (a soap shop); a Bristol farthing (^{C.B.}₁₆₆₂), the arms of Bristol; a Norwich farthing, 1667, 1668, 1670, arms; a Diss farthing, 1669, arms.

Mr. G. R. Corner, F.S.A., placed before the meeting eight metal spoons found at different times in London, some of which are of considerable interest. The earliest is a latten spoon referrible to the fifteenth century. It has a pyri-formed bowl, and quadrangular handle terminating in an ornament somewhat like a flower bud. The next oldest spoons are five of the age of Elizabeth. One of them is of latten, the flat handle being surmounted by a figure of our Saviour, with the right hand raised in the act of benediction. On the interior of the pyri-formed bowl is stamped a small shield, charged with a *p* within a crescent. The other spoons of this period are all of pewter. The most curious has at the end of the handle a bust of the Virgin (or maiden's head) issuing from a

flower; the bowl bearing a circular stamp, with the initials N.B. beneath a bow. The other spoons are of much plainer character, resembling the Elizabethan specimens engraved in the *Journal* (vol. viii, p. 365). They have straight handles, the ends being diagonally truncated, and their bowls bearing the following stamps:—two keys between the letters I. A.; a spoon between the letters W. A.; and a rose surmounted by a crown, within which are the letters W. I. The series close with two latten spoons of the middle of the seventeenth century. On the back of the flat handle of one is stamped a rose, and on the bowl of the other are three spoons, with the letters S. N. The latter example has a broad flat handle with a large tri-lobed termination, like the one discovered at Rochester, and described in the *Journal* of June 1856 (vol. xii, p. 162).

Mr. Corner also called attention to a curious old water jar, or *cantaro*, of similar design to those described in Mr. H. Syer Cuming's paper on *ascoi*, printed in the *Journal* (vol. x, 375). It is of red earth (*barro de estremo*), and has once been covered with a bright red glossy coating, portions of which have fallen off from damp. On the bottom are stamped the letters J.A.G. It was exhumed from a considerable depth when preparing for the foundation of the church of the Pilgrim Fathers, now in course of erection in Buckingham-square, New Kent-road.

Mr. T. Gunston exhibited seven curious rings, which he had lately acquired by purchase at a public sale. Taking them in chronological order, No. 1 is a fore-finger ring of undoubted early fabric, though its exact age is not very apparent: it is certainly not later than the commencement of the fifteenth century, and may be of much higher antiquity. It is of silver, the broad front decorated with horizontal lines, the rest with alternate broad and narrow perpendicular reedings. Nos. 2, 3, 4, are of brass, referrible to the latter half of the fifteenth century. No. 2 is a *zodiac ring*, consisting of a convex hoop with the head of a ram in front, emblematic of the sign *Aries*, whose astral influence was believed to extend over the head. A ring with the constellation *Aries* was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries on March 6th, 1834; and another, with the crab (*Cancer*), whose special rule was over the abdomen, is engraved in the *Gent. Mag.* for Nov. 1793, p. 985. The whole of the twelve zodiacal signs¹ are known to occur on finger rings; and it would be a matter of some interest could a regular cycle of such objects be brought together. Nos. 3 and 4 are signet thumb-rings, much like in fashion to the one engraved in the *Journal* (vii, 443). The smaller ring was found in Suffolk, and displays a crowned "I" between two palm branches, bringing to mind the signet ring of the Colby family, exhibited to the Association, and recorded in the *Journal* (vi, 100).

¹ The reader will find the subject of the influence of the zodiacal signs on man's body treated of in Mr. Pettigrew's work on *Superstitions connected with Medicine and Surgery*, pp. 30 et seq.

The third ring bears the letters i.c., united by the so-called *true lovers' knot*, which was frequently employed to brace letters when no thought of love was intended, as, for instance, on the brass of dean Fyche, in St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin. No. 5 is a ring of the sixteenth century. It is of silver, the front richly wrought, and set with an engraved oval piece of deep red cornelian; which is, in fact, a Roman intaglio representing a long-legged bird pecking something on the ground. This gem is of poor execution; but in the middle ages such objects were prized from their supposed medical virtues rather than from any appreciation of classic art. No. 6 is a silver ring of the early part of the seventeenth century, the front wrought into the shape of a heart, the hoop on either side being perforated. Brass rings, much of the same fashion as this one, are yet to be purchased at the toystalls in the streets of London. And the device of a heart crowned and winged, occurs on a silver betrothal ring supposed to have belonged to a member of the Douglas family, given in the *Gent. Mag.* for March 1831, p. 211. No 7 is also of silver, broad in front, whereon is engraved a shield, the rest of the hoop being richly wrought with the rose, shamrock, and thistle, compelling us to fix its date at a period subsequent to the accession of James I to the throne of England in 1603. It is, however, apparently the work of the early part of the seventeenth century.

Mr. Gunston also exhibited four articles of iron, lately recovered from the Thames near Southwark bridge. Two are spear heads, in a very ruined condition, measuring respectively eleven inches and one foot in length. The latter specimen, in general character, resembles the spear heads from Alchester and Cannon-street, described in the *Journal* of September last, p. 240, and may be referred to the eleventh century. The third object is the head of a musket-rest, of the time of Elizabeth; and the fourth, a formidable looking knife, with a prominent point at the end of the back.

Mr. Wills exhibited a Cousen-lane token. In Burn's descriptive catalogue of the Beaufoy collection of tokens, mention is made of one bearing on the *obverse* a woodland-gate, surrounded by the words "Dan. Burry Woodmongr." *Reverse*, Condit-lane at Dowgate." In field, D. M. B. Stow does not enumerate Conduit-lane among the several places spoken of in his account of "Downegate ward," but when alluding to "the high street called Dowgate," says that, "at the upper end thereof is a fair conduit of Thames water, castellated, and made in the year 1568, at charges of the citizens, and is called the conduit upon Downegate:" so that if there were ever such a locality as Conduit-lane, it was, in all probability, close to this castellated erection. But had this said Daniel Burry any right to describe himself as of "*Condit-lane*"? Mr. Syer Cuming suspects not, and that he ought rather to be designated as of *Cousen-lane*; and he exhibited one of his little tokens, found near to his old residence,

bearing on its obverse a four-barred gate, with the legend, "*Dan. Burry Woodmungr.*" Reverse, "*Cuzen-lane at Dowgat.*" In field, *B. D. M.* There can be no doubt that the Beaufoy specimen and Mr. Cuming's were both issued by the same person; and are curious contemporary instances of two names being applied to the same spot. Mr. Cuming does not remember hearing of any other Conduit-lane tokens than those of Burry, but there are several of Cousen-lane, as for example those of "*John Marle in Cuzen-lane Thames-street,*" and "*Peter Tull, Woodmonger in Cozen-lane.*" Burn remarks that the woodmongers, when sea-borne coal was not so generally used, had their stores, for the most part, at the wharves in Thames-street and the neighbourhood, and sold their billets to the consumer by the score or number. That they cheated like other traders, is evident; but when detected, their punishment was summary in effect, and in the way of example singularly disgraceful. Machin, in his diary, mentions, "September 17th, 1561, a woodmonger dwelling beside the Red Bull, beyond Cold Harbour, in Thames-street, was set in the pillory, near the cross in Cheapside, with billets hanging about him, for false marking of billets." As for the title of Cousen-lane, Stow says: "East from Dowgate is Cosin-lane, named of William Cosin that dwelt there in the 4th of Richard II, as divers his predecessors, father, grandfather, etc., had done before him. William Cosin was one of the sheriffs in the year 1306. That house standeth at the south end of the lane, having an old and artificial conveyance of Thames water into it, and is now (1603) a dyehouse called Lambard's messuage. Adjoining to that house there was lately erected an engine to convey Thames water unto Downegate conduit." Mr. Syer Cuming is anxious to learn whether there be any other evidence of the existence of a *Conduit-lane*, Dowgate, beyond that afforded by the woodmonger's little token.

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DECEMBER 1857.

ON ROMAN REMAINS AT BATH.

BY THE REV. H. N. SCARTH, M.A.

IN giving any account of the vestiges that remain of the ancient Roman town which existed on the site of the present city of Bath, it will be necessary to consider first of all its form; 2ndly, its gates: 3rdly, the roads which led to it; 4thly, its principal edifices, its temples and baths; and 5thly, the many antiquities which have been found in the city. These again may be classed under several heads: 1, altars; 2, sepulchral stones; 3, bronze ornaments; 4, remains of statues; 5, coins. Each of these would require a distinct notice, and admit of minute description, but time will only permit of a brief sketch of some of these interesting divisions.

The *origin* of Bath is, like that of most cities, involved in obscurity. In examining the neighbouring hills which overlook the valley in which rise the hot springs for which Bath is celebrated, and to which it owes its permanent flourishing condition, we find, on the south side of the river, and on the line of Wansdyke, vestiges of an ancient settlement on Hampton Down. There can be little doubt that this was the stronghold of the ancient inhabitants, previous, and, it may be, some years subsequent, to the Roman invasion. The traces that there remain are sufficient to show that the Belgæ, or it may be an earlier tribe, occupied the hill, where they protected themselves and their cattle by means of very extensive earthworks, and separated the summit, which on two sides is very difficult

of access, from the more accessible portion, by a deep ditch and mound.

On the summit of an isolated hill called Sulisbury, directly opposite Hampton Down, and on the other side of the valley, are the remains of ancient earthworks, which shew the entire top of the hill to have been fortified. This has been supposed to have been the *first point* occupied by the Romans, as it commands the junction of two roads, the foss-way, and the road from Cunetio, called by Collinson¹ *Via Badonica*, and after leaving Bath known as the *Via Julia*; but having been occupied by the Saxons, and probably the Danes, in later times, the plan of the fortress cannot be assigned to any particular people. The hill bears the name of little Salisbury, which has been conjectured to be a corruption of Sulisbury, and to have taken its name from the British goddess Sul, who was worshiped on the height. Most of the Roman altars found in Bath are dedicated to the goddess Sul or Sul-Minerva, who is considered to have been the deity presiding over the hot springs. This goddess seems to have given the name to other places in this kingdom; and it has been thought that the ancient name of Bath was not "*Aquæ Solis*", but "*Aquæ Sulis*", Sul being the presiding goddess.

The period at which the Romans fixed themselves in the valley, and directed their attention to collecting the healing waters and making them available for use, is fixed by the rev. Mr. Warner to the time of the emperor Claudius, A.D. 44; and he considers Scribonius, the physician of the emperor, as the first who called attention to their medicinal properties. But it seems doubtful if the country was reduced before A.D. 50, or if the settlement of the Romans in this city could be much earlier.

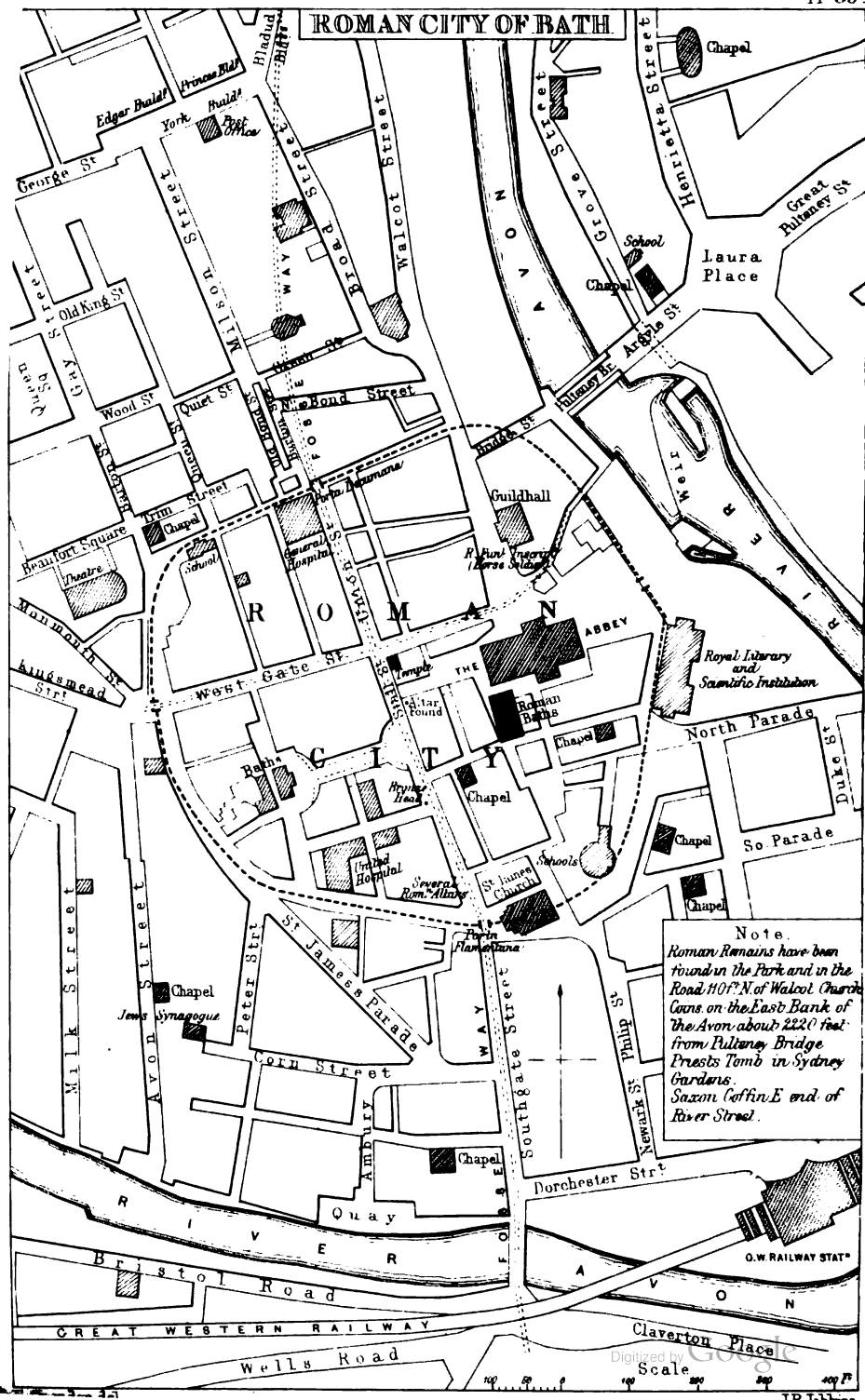
Not far from Wookey in Somersetshire, in the reign of Henry VIII, was turned up, with the plough, a plate of lead of an oblong form, erected as a trophy of victory, with the inscription—

TI. CLAVDIVS. CAESAR. AVG. P. M.

TRIB. P. VIII. IMP. XVI. DE. BRITAN.

This tribuneship of Claudius was in the year of the city 802, when P. Ostorius was governor of Britain as *proprætor*. A coin of Claudius also, of the same date, has on the

¹ See Collinson's *Hist. and Antiq. of Somerset*, vol. i, p. 99.



reverse, DE . BRITAN, and bears a triumphal arch with an image of a figure galloping on horseback. From Tacitus we know that, in this year, Ostorius subdued two nations of the Britons, the Iceni and Cangi, which latter Camden supposes to be a smaller nation of the Belgæ. We have the name of this people preserved in some of the places in Somerset, as Cannington, Cannings, Wincanton.¹

A coin of the emperor Augustus, discovered at Wellow, was in the possession of the rev. C. Paul, the former vicar. No remains of this emperor have, however, been found in Bath, except coins, two of which are in the possession of an excellent local antiquary, Mr. Hunt of Rivers-street. Coins of the emperor Nero were found in digging the foundation of the new hot bath, near the Cross Bath. Mr. Whitaker says they were of the Antonines, Trajan, Adrian, and Nero. We may infer from this that the baths were first formed in Nero's reign, but enlarged or ornamented in the reign of Adrian, Trajan, and Antonine.

The *form* of the *Roman* city seems to have been pentagonal, with four gates facing the four cardinal points. (See plan, plate 35.) The mediæval walls were ascertained by governor Pownall to be built upon the ancient Roman foundations, and to have followed the course of the old Roman wall. He states that, in 1795, some houses were building on the site of the borough walls, opposite the General Hospital. The workmen, after they had dug down ten or eleven feet, and laid bare the masonry of the foundation of the borough walls, came to that of the *old Roman walls* on which they were set. He states that he examined the different constructions, and satisfied himself that the foundation was clearly *Roman*.²

Dr. Stukeley, whose work was published A.D. 1724, declares of Bath that the walls round the city were, in his day, for the most part entire, and perhaps the old Roman

¹ A.D. 43, A. C. V., 795, Aulus Plautius was sent into Britain; Vespasian II, Com. Leg. A.D. 44, Claudius sailed into Britain, remaining only sixteen days. A.D. 45, Vespasian, under Plautius, conquered two nations, the Belgæ and Damnonii, and the Isle of Wight, and fought thirty or more times with the enemy. The three legates in Britain in the reign of Claudius were Aulus Plautius, Ostorius Scapula, and Didius Gallus.

² This appears also to have been the case at Chester, where the foundation of the present city wall rests upon portions of the Roman work, though sometimes within it. The mediæval wall has also been extended so as to include the castle.

work, except the *upper part*, which seemed repaired with the ruins of Roman buildings, for the "lewis holes", says he, "are still left in many of the stones; and to the shame of the repairers many Roman inscriptions, some sawn across to fit the size of the place, are still to be seen; some with the letters towards the city, others on the outside. Most of those mentioned by Mr. Camden and other authors are still left; but the legend most obscure. The level of the city is risen to the top of the first walls."

Leland gives an enumeration of the reliques of those sculptures which were preserved in the walls in his day; and to his *Itinerary* I must refer for their description. Drawings of them are given in Dr. Guidott's work, entitled *A Discourse of Bathe and the Hot Waters there*, and published in 1676.

Before proceeding to mention the gates of the city, we may observe that the form of the walls was not square but *pentagonal*, resembling in this respect those of Silchester, which are multangular, and those of Uriconium (now Wroxeter), which follow no precise figure, but seem to have been built to enclose the houses after the city had grown up; or at all events, if at first rectangular, to have been extended at a subsequent period. In Bath the wall was adapted to the nature of the ground, the river protecting the city on two sides, and the walls adapting themselves to the bend of the river. The form of the ancient walls of Bath being *pentagonal*, has led to the supposition that the city was originally British, before the coming of the Romans. This was sir R. C. Hoare's opinion, who says, "We are still enabled to trace the irregular form of the British town, at Bath, Silchester, Kenchester; while the more regular square and oblong form of the Roman town may be traced with equal satisfaction, as Colchester, Winchester, Caerleon, Castor near Norwich, and in all the military stations adjoining the wall of Severus in the north." Yet we find from Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, lib. i, ch. xxiii, that the Roman camps did not always follow one figure: "Interdum autem quadrata, interdum trigona, interdum semirotunda, prout loci qualitas aut necessitas postulaverit, castra facienda sunt"; and I conceive cities followed the same rule. Collinson, in his *Hist. of Somerset* (vol. i, p. 8), says: "The old Roman

city was built in the form of a pentagon, the area whereof was 1,200 feet in length, and the greatest breadth about 1,150 feet. It was surrounded by a strong wall composed of layers of stone, brick, and terras, 9 feet thick and 20 feet high. This wall was flanked by circular towers at each angle, and had four gateways, answering nearly to the four cardinal points of the compass, from which, in subsequent times, the principal streets had their denominations. In the centre of the city, behind the north and south gates, stood the Prætorium, the lodgings of the officers, the Balnea, and the temple dedicated to Minerva. The site of this last mentioned stupendous edifice has been plainly indicated by the late discoveries made in laying the foundations of the new building at the top of Stall-street. It stood on the east side of the great foss-road, running through the city from north to south, and nearly midway betwixt the Porta Decumana, or north gate, and the Porta Flumentana, or south gate, leading to the river. Its front was towards the west, and consisted of a portico supported by large fluted columns, of the Corinthian order, crowned with the richest sculptured capitals."

The *Roman gates*, if corresponding to those in mediæval times, did not exactly face each other, or stand in the centre of the walls. The *north gate* admitted the road called the *foss-way*, which came from Corinium (now Cirencester), and united with that from Verlucio (now Sandy-lane) about Batheaston, and passed on through Walcot, where Roman remains have been found,—for instance, the famous Julius Vitalis inscription, which may be seen in the passage of the Literary and Scientific Institution,—and so entered the city at the north gate, which probably stood originally further to the west, more towards the site of the General Hospital, where a piece of the mediæval wall is still to be seen. From thence the road passed the temple of "Sul-Minerva", near the present Pump Room, at the angle of Cheap-street and Stall-street, where afterwards stood Stall's church, or the church of St. Mary de Stall, *i.e.*, Sta. Maria de Stabula, and, passing on through Southgate-street, quitted the city at the south gate, and crossed the river where the present bridge now stands. The foss-way then continued its course up Holloway, and took a direct line for Ilchester, the Roman Ischalis, and is

still to be traced at many points, as, for instance, near the Burnt House gate, where it cuts the Wansdyke.

The *East gate* led from the river, where probably was a ford in Roman times, and a boat station. A gate of mediæval construction still exists; and the old mediæval wall of the city, running southward, is preserved. This may be seen at the back of the present market, where Roman remains have been dug up. The existing old gateway was probably not far from the site of the ancient Roman; and from this point the street runs in a direct line to the *west gate*. Roman remains have been found on the Bathwick side of the river, and probably a road went across the meadows (which were then low marshy flats) towards Bathwick hill. A monumental stone, now in the Literary and Scientific Institution, erected to the memory of Caius Calpurnius, a priest of the goddess Sul, was found, in the year 1795, in the Sydney Gardens. Now as the tombs were generally placed along the wayside (as was the case with the Julius Vitalis monument above mentioned), and as several stone coffins have been found also along this line, it is not improbable that a Roman road may have run from the *east gate* over the flats and up the hill. A Roman pig of lead, with the stamp of the emperor Hadrian, and a Roman key, which are now in the Literary Institution, were also found in Sydney Buildings, which is in this direction, being on the side of the hill south of the city.

The street from the east to the west gate passed near Stall's church, where anciently stood the temple of Sul-Minerva, at the intersection of the roads; and not far from the point where the main roads met, seem to have been situated the *principal buildings* of the city, the *temple of Sul-Minerva*, the *ancient baths*, and the *temple of Diana* the charioteer, which in the modern city have been succeeded by the Pump Room, the Abbey Church, the Kingston baths, and the Poor-Law Union offices.

From the *west gate* ran the Via Julia, through Weston, in the direction of Bitton, probably the ancient "Abone", where is a Roman camp, and where many Roman remains have been found. In a military survey, made in 1840, it is said to be observable in Weston-lane, where it goes through fields for a few hundred yards, and then enters another lane, which it follows, passing between Kelston

Round Hill and Lansdown, and so on to North Stoke, leaving the church at that place on the right. It is traceable for some distance towards Bitton, and from thence towards the Bristol Channel, being known among the common people by the name "Aggis Way"; and is laid down in an old map, "Augus Way", as I am informed by the rev. H. T. Ellacombe, formerly vicar. Some vestiges of an ancient road were discovered below the modern turnpike, about a quarter of a mile east of the Roman camp at Bitton.

Having now endeavoured to trace the walls, gates, principal streets, and roads leading out of the city, we must examine what vestiges remain of the ancient temple of which I have already spoken. Some very striking fragments, unequalled, I believe, by any yet found in this kingdom, are preserved in the vestibule of the Literary and Scientific Institution.

And first as to situation. In the *Red Book of Bath* (which, I believe, is now in the library of the marquis of Bath, at Longleat), in a memorandum entered by some unknown hand in the year 1582, it is stated that there was then to be seen an epitaph of the middle ages, which is given: "In ostio ruinosi templi quondam Minervæ dedicati et adhuc in loco dicto, sese studiosis offerens." The writer is speaking of Stall's church, which stood at the angle of Cheap-street and Stall-street, but which is now demolished, the only vestige remaining being a vault below the wine cellars of a shop near the corner. Its situation was close to the present Pump Room, in excavating for the foundations of which the remarkable fragments of the temple were found. These fragments seem to answer the description of Solinus, whose words are more applicable to Bath than to any other place in this kingdom where hot springs are found.

I must here remark that the position of Aquæ Solis, or Aquæ Sulis (the *ὑδρα θερμα* of Ptolemy), according to the *Itinera* of Antonine and of Richard of Cirencester, corresponds exactly with the situation of Bath, and admits of no doubt, nor has it been questioned by any writer. The "Fontes Calidæ" of Solinus can hardly apply to any other spot, for the remains found at Bath seem to identify it with the description given in his *Polyhistor*, or *Collectanea Rerum*

Memorabilium, c. 25: "Circuitus Britanniae, quadragies octies septuaginta quinque millia passuum sunt: in quo spatio magna et multa flumina sunt. Fontesque calidae opiparo exsculpti apparatu ad usus mortalium: quibus fontibus præsul est Minerva numen, in cujus æde perpetui ignes nunquam canescunt in favillas, sed ubi tabuit vertitur in globos saxeos." From the description of Solinus we gather the following important conclusions, as Mr. Whitaker observes:

1. The hot springs had been collected into elegant basins, and furnished with accommodation for the use of bathers.

2. The words "opiparo exsculpti apparatu", even mean more than elegance, they mount up to magnificence.

3. That Minerva was considered by the Romans as presiding over the springs, and a temple built to her honour.

4. Constant fire was kept burning within the temple, like that in the temple of Vesta at Rome. Yet Minerva of Bath was not, like Vesta of Rome, served only by virgins and beheld only by the head virgin. The Bath Minerva appears to have been served by men, and married men too, as appears from an inscription on the tomb of a priest, which was found in the Sydney Gardens.

5. The fire was fed with coal, which is found at Newton St. Loe. This is the first mention of *coal* in Britain,— "vertitur in globos saxeos" applying most probably to cinders.

The passage of Tacitus, wherein he describes the gradual enervation of the native character of the Britons through the policy pursued by Agricola, seems particularly adapted to this city. We may conceive the natives occupying Hampton Down, and looking down upon the Roman settlement of Aquæ Sulis in the valley, induced gradually to mix with the new comers, and assume their dress and manners, as we know they did, and became imitators of their luxury. (Tac., *Vit. Agric.*, c. 21.)

"Namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes, eoque bello faciles, quieti et otio per voluptates assuescerent: hortari privatim, adjuvare publice, ut templa, foca, domus extruerent, laudando promptos, et castigando segnes; ita honoris æmulatio, pro necessitate erat. Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concu-

piscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor, et frequens toga. Paulatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus, et balnea, et conviviorum elegantiam; idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars esse servitutis."

We now come to consider the remains of this temple, which have been happily preserved to us. And here I must allude to a very interesting paper lately published in the *Archæologia*, by Mr. Scharf, who has done justice to these most interesting remains.¹ Many writers have treated of them, and expressed opinions as to the character of the work and the meaning of the design.²

Before proceeding to consider the workmanship and design of the pediment of this temple, we ought to say something of the temple itself. The remains were discovered in 1790, in digging the foundation of the present Pump Room.

Mr. Whitaker, in a spirited review of the rev. R. Warner's *History*, endeavours to prove that this temple was in form similar to the Pantheon at Rome, both being dedicated to Minerva. He says: "The Pantheon of Minerva Medica (an agnomen very similar to our prenomen of *Sul* for Minerva) is noticed by Rufus and Victor in their short notes concerning the structure of Rome . . . In this quarter is still standing a decagon structure . . . The whole consists of ten sides, in one of which is a door, as in the other nine were as many niches, all of them furnished with as many images of deities. Such, says he, we believe was once the temple of Minerva at Bath."

A very fine Corinthian column remains, which probably formed part of the portico of this temple. It has been engraved in Mr. Lysons' work, and is to be seen in the vestibule of the Literary and Scientific Institution. The portions of a shaft which remain are hollowed out: the column is fluted. The capital is executed in a bold, masterly style, and seems to be one of the earliest works of the Romans in this country. With this column were found fragments of a cornice richly ornamented with foli-

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi.

² Amongst whom may be mentioned sir Henry C. Englefield (*Archæologia*, vol. x, entitled "An Account of Antiquities discovered at Bath, 1790"); John Carter's plates, 1790; the rev. R. Warner's "Illustrations of the Roman Antiquities discovered at Bath," 1797; Sam. Lysons' "Remains of two Temples and other Antiquities," 1802.

age and flowers, all of which are preserved, and will be seen to be of the common stone of the country used in building.

An inscription, also found with them, formed part of a frieze, which has been conjecturally restored, and is now placed in the passage of the Literary and Scientific Institution, where the altars stand. The ancient fragments have the words—

... LAVDIVS . LIGVR OLEGIO . LONGA . SERIA
 ... E . NIMIA . VETVST VNIA . REFICI . ET
 REPINGI CVR

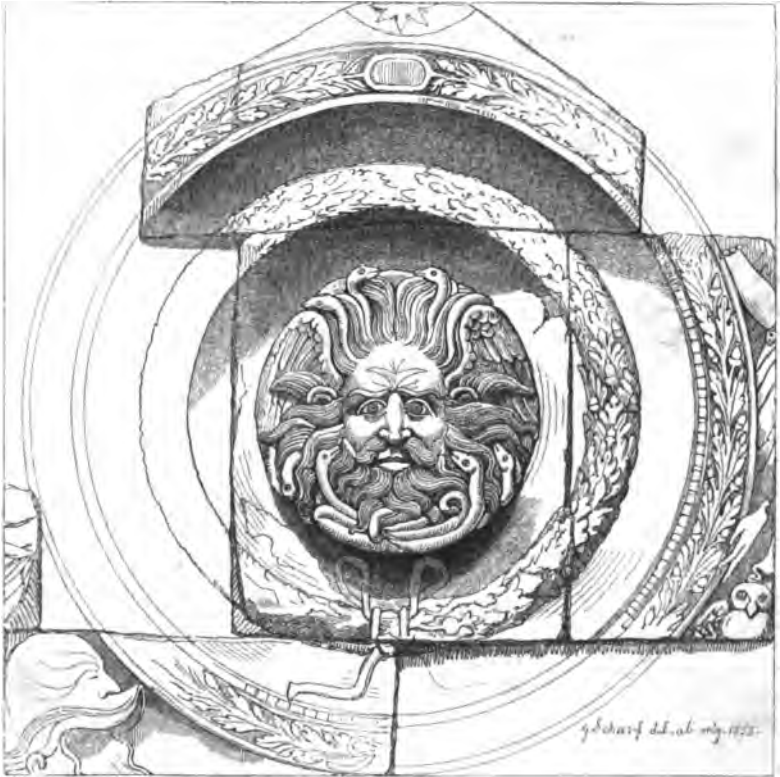
And the conjectural restoration is as follows :

Avlvs CLAVDIVS LIGVRivs sodalis ascitus
Fabrorum COLEGIO LONGA SERIA defossa
Hanc ædem E NIMIA VETVSTATE labentem
De inventa illic PECVNIA REFICI ET REPINGI CVRAVIT.

Of the probability and accuracy of this, I must leave the Association to judge. I have not as yet heard any observations which could lead to the suggestion of another, and it is certainly very ingenious. The “sodalis ascitus fabrorum” was suggested by the stone to Julius Vitalis, found in Walcot in 1708, on the side of the Roman road, the ancient foss-way, where the expression is, EX COLEGIO FABRICE ELATVS, suggesting that there was in Bath a company of smiths or armourers. “Seria”, which was an earthenware vessel, was used for burying money, as we know from the 2nd *Sat.* of Persius (11), many having been found here and elsewhere. E NIMIA VETVSTATE applies to the dilapidated building which Aulus Claudius Ligurius, with the PECVNIA,—REFICI ET REPINGI CVRAVIT: a most pious use, and worthy of imitation by Christians, who may employ unexpected wealth in a holier cause.

This inscription seems to belong to the temple, the pediment of which is preserved in the vestibule of the Literary Institution, and contains the sculpture which has drawn forth so much learned conjecture. Mr. Scharf has given an excellent drawing of it in his paper in the *Archæologia*,¹ having taken much pains with the design. The altitude of the tympanum measured 8 feet 4 inches, and the

¹ Vol. xxxvi, p. 190. See plate 36, which, by the liberality of the president and council of the Society of Antiquaries, we are enabled to present to our readers,—an obligation duly estimated, and hereby acknowledged, by the council of the Association.



SCULPTURED HEAD, ON A PEDIMENT BELONGING TO A ROMAN
TEMPLE DISCOVERED AT BATH.

length of the tympanum 24 feet 2 inches. This sculpture belongs to the age of the decadence of the arts, but is not inferior in execution to some of the works of that period in Rome. "The execution is coarse, and the material, taken from the quarries in the neighbourhood, does not admit of great delicacy of execution. The eyes are crude, and extravagant in drawing; but there is an effective treatment of the work, as intended for a distance, and a peculiar roundness about the flesh. The arrangement of the hair is very artistic, and the mode in which the snakes are made to combine with it worthy of observation.¹ It must have originally consisted of twelve stones, only six of which remain. The subject is a large circular shield, called 'clipeus', supported by two flying figures of Victory. The feet of the right hand Victory still remain attached to a globe."² For a minute account I must, however, refer to Mr. Scharf's paper. I only desire now to direct attention to what is most worthy of notice, and to call forth remarks from others. Governor Pownall endeavoured to prove that this head was the "serpentine, or cherubic diadem, which the Egyptians, Rhodians, and some other nations of the east, placed upon the head of the divine symbol of their god."

Some, like Mr. Carter, have considered it to be the head of Medusa. Mr. Britton, in a note upon a recent edition of Carter (1838), says it was intended to represent the ægis of Minerva. The ægis was originally a *goat-skin*; and when Jupiter was contending with the Titans, he was directed to wear it, with the head of the Gorgon. Homer designates Jupiter, "*Αργυροχος*", (ægis-bearing); and from this circumstance the goat-skin became the mantle or paludamentum of the Roman emperors; and the Medusa's head at last degenerated into a fibula or button, with which the cloak was fastened to the right shoulder.

The ægis and shield of Minerva were therefore very *distinct*; and that now under consideration is a *shield* of a large round "clipeus" form, supported by figures of Victory. Between the head and the rim of the shield are two circles or wreaths of oak-leaves and acorns. These have no direct reference to Minerva. May it not be, asks Mr. Scharf, that this head is the symbol of the hot spring, and

¹ Archæologia, xxxvi, p. 189.

² Ib.

that the double wreath refers to the oak groves which may have surrounded the locality?

According to Solinus, Minerva was the presiding divinity,—“*quibus fontibus præsul est Minerva numen*”; and there are two altars now standing in the entrance passage of the Literary Institution, dedicated to the goddess Sul-Minerva, and two to the goddess Sul, and one to the Sulævæ; and also a memorial stone, which I have already mentioned, put up to a *priest of the goddess Sul*. Another fragment of an inscription having on it

C . PROTACI

DEÆ . SVLIS . M .

is still preserved, and seems to belong to another temple. It appears probable from this, that the Romans, finding the worship of the Goddess Sul established here, and, it may be, conducted on the hill called Salisbury (still bearing a corruption of her name), added to it that of their own *Minerva*, and entitled the presiding goddess of the hot springs “Sul-Minerva”, to whom they erected a noble temple, of which the pediment and one column now alone remain. It is worthy of remark, that near Ribchester (Coccium), where considerable remains of a temple dedicated to Minerva are said to have been found, is a spot called “Salebury”¹

The central head in the shield may be, as Mr. Scharf observes, a personification of the hot spring itself. The abundant curls indicate the flowing streams; and the wings just above the ears may relate to the fleeting and evanescent nature of the Bath waters, which, from their intense heat, evaporate rapidly. Pursuing this view, the locality of the hot spring being in a valley, we have the form of a “*clipeus*” around the head, and round the circle of oak-leaves *deeply concave*, whilst all bucklers in ancient art partake of the opposite form, viz., convex. Surely the Bath waters, or their supposed divinity, deserved a temple, for to these the city owes its continuance through all periods of history; while others, like Uriconium, Kenches-ter, Ilchester, have quite passed away, or become unimportant places.

At the left hand corner of the pediment is a helmet of a very peculiar, and, in Mr. Scharf’s opinion, unclassic shape.

¹ See Camden, Gough’s edition, vol. iii, p. 378.

On the right hand side above, is part of an arm with a bracelet; and lower down, a hand holding a wreath belonging to a flying Victory. Lower down is the hand of a child holding an owl by the wing. Here is an emblem of Minerva and of Night also. The helmet may be regarded as allusive to Mars, and would have an appropriate allusion in a Roman colony; and the owl of Minerva, the goddess presiding over the hot springs. And here a quotation may be made from a very late Greek author, Proclus (who died A.D. 485), which will elucidate this subject. His words are—

Ἡ ΑΘΗΝΑ ΝΙΚΗ προσαγορευεται και ΤΤΙΕΙΑ, τον μεν νουν κρατειν ποιουσα της αναγκης, και το ειδος της ὑλης, ὅλον δαιει και τελειον, και αγηρων, και ανοσον διαφυλαττουσα το παν, οικειον της του θεου ταυτης, και αναγειν, και μεριζειν, και δια της νοερας χορειας συναπτειν τοις θειοτεροις, και ενιδρυνει και φρουρειν εν αυτοις.

Thus translated :

Minerva is called Victory and Health: the former because she causes intellect to rule over necessity, and form over matter; and the latter because she preserves the universe perpetually whole, perfect, exempt from age, and free from disease. It is the property, therefore, of this goddess to elevate and distribute, and through an intellectual dance, as it were, to connect, establish, and defend, inferior natures in such as are more divine.

On each side is the fragment of a flying Victory. The folds of the drapery on the left hand figure are well arranged, and the form of the feathers distinct. A similar arrangement to this sculpture is to be seen at the entrance to the library of Durham cathedral. The fragment was found at Lanchester. Each Victory stands on a globe, and has a shield on her arm.

There are circles or bands upon the globe under the feet of the right hand figure of the Bath sculpture, which also occur on paintings at Pompeii, and on coins of Augustus.

Amongst the ruins at Caerleon was found a sculpture, the head resembling that at Bath, but of much inferior workmanship.¹

The other sculptures, which Mr. Lysons has faithfully

¹ Engraved in Mr. Lee's descriptions of a Roman building, and other remains discovered there; published in 1850. See plate viii. It was examined by the Association upon their visit to Caerleon during the Chepstow Congress.

given in his engravings, and out of which he has constructed a small temple, are considered by Mr. Scharf to have formed part of the large temple, the pediment of which we have been considering. He says the other sculptures, which seem to have occupied two circles set in smaller pediments, arranged probably on either side of the larger, represented, in one, the Sun; in the other, Luna, or Selene. The bust of the latter only, in a medallion, is preserved. She is *full-faced*, with the crescent, not in her forehead, but behind her head, gracefully filling up the circular space. The right shoulder is bare; on the left is her whip; and her hair is tied in a knot over her forehead, in accordance with the other classic representations of the virgin goddess.

This head has hitherto been considered to be that of the goddess *Sul*, in consequence of a portion of an inscription found with it, which runs thus—

C. PROACI
DEÆ SVIS M.

And has been restored thus—

C. PROTACIVS
DEÆ SVLIS MINERVÆ.

“C. Protacius, to the goddess Sul Minerva.”

Mr. Warner, however, conjectured it to be the remains of a temple dedicated to Luna. Fluted pilasters, and the remains of four small sculptures of the seasons, were also disinterred from the same spot (the site of the present Pump Room), and are preserved in the vestibule of the Literary Institution. I am inclined to agree with Mr. Warner and Mr. Scharf, that this must be the remains of a structure representing the goddess Luna; but I cannot quite agree that, although found in the same spot, it belonged to the same temple. There was also found part of a medallion of the sun, only a portion of the rays being left, which seem not to have exceeded seven in number. “The remaining edge of this medallion corresponds (says Mr. Scharf) in size with that of the moon or Selene”; and from this he infers that they were portions of two corresponding smaller pediments. He supposes also the sculptures of the seasons, which are to be seen in the vestibule, to have been portions of the ornament of the famous temple, the pediment of which represented the presiding

deity of the hot springs. Here, then, is a noble field for research, and an opening for learned conjecture, which, if it should succeed in restoring this once noble edifice to its pristine grandeur, would confer an eminent service upon architectural science and on the city of Bath.

The other remains which are deserving of notice, are the ancient baths, which are now built over. The passages below the Kingston baths, which are sometimes said to be the ancient Roman baths, will, on examination, be found to be only the underground passages of Kingston House, and it is doubtful if containing any Roman work. These may be seen, by permission, when the water is drawn away from the baths. An accurate plan of the Roman baths, when first discovered (twenty feet below the surface of the ground) was made by Dr. Lucas, who published an account of what he saw, which was afterwards improved and enlarged by Dr. Sutherland in his work published in 1763. In this work first appeared the plan and engraving of the remains, which has been copied into Gough's *Camden*, and into Warner's *History of Bath*, and Collinson's *History of Somerset*. I cannot do better than quote the following description of them :

“In taking down the abbey house (1755), to build a new set of baths, called the Duke of Kingston's, they found, at the depth of twenty feet below the ground, remains of very noble Roman baths and sudatories, whose springs and drains were made use of for the present baths. The walls were six or seven feet high, built of stone, and lined with fine red cement. The great bath is said to have been 41 feet by 24 feet. The floor of this was sustained by twelve pilasters, each of which was 3 feet 6 inches upon the front of the plinth, by a projection of 2 feet 3 inches. The shaft of the pilaster was 2 feet 11 inches broad, and projected 2 feet. These, with the adjoining walls, probably supported an entablature with a vaulted roof about 35 feet in height. The bath, when discovered, was full of broken brick and mortar, probably the ruins of the vault which covered it. The entrance was from the south-east corner, and was by three different flights of steps of flagstone, 8 inches rise, and 9 breadth. A portion of the baths had been altered in Roman times. The semicircular part had a stone seat round it, 18 inches high and 16 broad. The steps were so worn by constant treading that they were 3½ inches out of the level.”¹

I can only now give a brief enumeration of the remaining objects of interest which are still preserved. And here

¹ Gough's *Camden*, vol. i, 79; Gough's ed.

I must mention, first, the bronze head, supposed to be of *Minerva*, now in the Bath Literary Institution, which was found in Stall-street, near the corner of Bell Tree-lane. It is supposed to have belonged to a statue which stood in the temple. It was dug up, July 1727, and lay buried under sixteen feet of earth. It is engraved in the *Proceedings* of the Somersetshire Society for 1852, and there described. Another head is said to have been found in Bath. This was purchased by the late Mr. Pigot of Brockly Hall, and a cast of it is now in the Institution. The British Museum has likewise a cast of it. No mention, however, has been made of it by any of the writers on Bath Roman antiquities, nor was it ever entered in the catalogue of Roman remains discovered in Bath; and its genuineness, therefore, admits of considerable doubt. A colossal head was discovered in 1714, and allowed to pass out of the city to Exeter, and, I believe, is now lost. Coins were also discovered with the bronze head of *Minerva*, which were preserved in the time of Horsley, but are now lost.

A beautiful medallion, with the figure of a female head, and an inscription around it, giving the name, may be seen in the museum of the Bath Literary Institution. It was found on the site of the Pump Room. It seems to have been worn as a locket. An engraving is given in the appendix to Warner's *History of Bath*. The legend is POMPEIA . I . C . V

ALTARS.

I have already mentioned some of the altars. These may be seen in the passage of the Literary Institution, with the inscriptions on tablets above them. The sides of these altars are all plain, none having on them, as is usual, the sacrificial implements. Only one is without an inscription. This stands in a corner of the vestibule of the Institution, and has on it two figures: one, *Jupiter* holding his thunderbolt, with an eagle at his feet; and the other, *Hercules* with his club, and with a cup, as the convivial *Hercules*, or *Hercules Bibax*.

This may have been erected in honour of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, the former of whom affected the name and character of *Jupiter*; the latter, that of *Hercules*. The date of the erection of this altar would be between A.D.

284 and 304. An inscription to Dioclesian and Maximian, under the titles of Jupiter and Hercules, was found on a column at Clunia, in Hispania Taraconensis. It is preserved in Baronius, Occo, and Gruter, p. 280, N. 3; and also another, No. 4—

DIOCLETIANVS JOVIVS ET
 MAXIMIAN : HERCVLEVS
 CÆS AVG
 AMPLIFICATO PER ORIENTEM ET OCCIDENTEM
 IMP. ROM.
 ET
 NOM CHRISTIANORVM
 DELETO QVI
 REMP. EVER
 TEBANT.

This inscription, and another to Dioclesian and Galerius, commemorates the terrible persecutions of the Christians under those emperors. If, in consequence of the apparent eradication of Christianity, the emperors Dioclesian and Maximian assumed the titles of Jove and Hercules, then this altar at Bath, which probably depicts them under those characters, may mark the carrying out of their decrees against Christianity in this city. On another altar is inscribed the following—

LOCVM RELIGIOSVM
 PER INSOLENTIAM
 ERVTVM .
 VERTVTE ET NVMINI
 AVGVSTI REPVRGATVM
 REDDIDIT . C . SEVERIVS
 EMERITVS C.

This was one of three altars found at the lower end of Stall-street in 1733. The inscription is curious and interesting, commemorating the restoration by C. Severius of “locum religiosum”, “a place consecrated to religious purposes”, which had been, “per insolentiam ervtvm”; which admits of a wide field of speculation, and has been supposed to refer to some outbreak of Christian zeal, in which a spot dedicated to heathen rites was violated, and afterwards “repurgatvm vertvti et nvmine Avgvsti”. Another interpretation may, however, be given to it.

ON THE CAMPS AT CISSBURY, SUSSEX.

BY GEORGE VERE IRVING, ESQ.

PART I.

ON a cursory examination of a few of the earthwork fortifications which are found in almost every part of this island, the archæologist might be led to suppose that the form of each individual encampment had been determined by the caprice of those who directed its construction, without reference to any principle, and that, in consequence, it would be hopeless to attempt any classification of these ancient works. A more extended investigation, however, completely overturns this conclusion, and establishes that the whole of these apparently heterogeneous forms are deducible to a few marked types, the selection of one or other of which was, in each particular instance, made in accordance with fixed principles resulting from the mode of warfare which was pursued at the time of their formation.

Among these types none possesses features of greater interest than that which consists of a number of outposts grouped round a camp of larger dimensions. The skill with which the sites of these are selected, relative to the nature of the country and the command of the surrounding district, the manner in which they support and defend one another, are pregnant evidence of the degree of civilization and military science possessed by those who erected them. Indeed, making due allowance for the alterations in the weapons of war, consequent on the discovery of gunpowder, an engineer of the present day might learn more than one valuable professional lesson from these Malakoffs and Mamelons of our ancestors. In describing the camps of the upper ward of Lanarkshire,¹ I had occasion to call the attention of the Association to one group of this class;² and in the course of last autumn I had an opportunity of examining another still more remarkable; one at the opposite extremity of the island, of which the camp on Cissbury hill, in the vicinity of Worthing in Sussex, forms the centre.

¹ Journal, vol. x, pp. 1-32.

² *Ib.*, pp. 24-26.

This fortification presents a most marked object; one part of its rampart, which is more elevated than the rest, being one of the most prominent landmarks in the district, and distinguished by the name of Cissbury Knot. So conspicuous a relic of antiquity could not fail to attract the attention of antiquaries, especially in a county possessed of so many eminent archæologists. Camden¹ has left us a short description of it; and a most able and detailed account, both of the camp and its outposts, by the rev. Edward Turner, was read at the Brighton meeting of the Sussex Archæological Society in 1849, which has since been published in the *Collections* of that body.² So full and accurate is this notice, that, although in the course of my examination I noted several features of considerable interest, of which no mention is made (including a fort, evidently one of the group, as to which Camden is also silent), I should not have considered them of such importance as would have justified me in bringing these fortifications under the notice of the Association, were it not that these camps present materials for raising and elucidating important questions applicable to ancient earthen entrenchments in general.

Cissbury hill is a spur projecting from the great ridge of the South downs, having on its top a comparatively flat plateau of about sixty acres in extent. On the north-west and south-east the descent into the lower country is exceedingly abrupt. On the south there is a projecting ridge, along the crest of which the ascent, although steep, is much more easy. On the east the plateau is connected with the rest of the downs by a narrow neck, which is at first level, but at a short distance rises with a considerable gradient. The camp occupies the whole of the plateau; and is defended by a single rampart and ditch, which follow the line where the descent of the hill becomes decidedly marked. On the south, opposite the ridge I have mentioned, there is a gate. As, however, the ascent here, though practicable, is still steep, no additional defences seem to have been considered necessary. It is different, however, with another gate which opens on the neck connecting the plateau with the downs. Here the access is not only easy, but positively advantageous, to an

¹ Britannia, Gough's edition, vol. i, p. 188.

² Vol. iii, p. 173.

attacking force; and in consequence we find that this danger is provided against by a vast increase in the width of the ditch and the height of the rampart, the appearance of the latter from the low ground being the origin of the term "Cissbury Knot". On the eastern side of this gate a considerable space has been excavated and leveled, evidently for the purpose of forming a *corps de garde*.¹ On the north side of the camp there is a smaller gate or postern, so narrow in its dimensions, however, that it could only have been used by persons on foot, or by horsemen in single file. On the south side, at a point where there is a gentle slope from the higher part of the plateau, previous to the more marked descent of the hill, there are, a short distance within the vallum, a considerable number of excavations of a circular form, at an interval of about twelve feet from each other, varying in diameter from ten to twenty-five feet, and of different depths. I also observed, on the south-east side, about midway between the gates, and in the vicinity of the rampart, a single excavation of a similar character, of which I have found no notice in any description of this camp which I have seen.

Before proceeding to describe the three outposts which surround this camp, I may pause for a moment to point out, as a proof of the possibility of classifying these earthworks, the great similarity which this fortification bears to that on Bodsberry hill in Lanarkshire.² Both occupy the flat top of an isolated hill. Their ramparts follow the line of demarcation between the plateau and the abrupt descent to the lower country, and are therefore of an irregular form. The principles on which this mode of castrametation has been adopted, are easily understood. To have inscribed within the plateau a fortification of any regular form used in those days, would have exposed it to this danger, that an enemy might have approached within a very short distance of the rampart without the possibility of their being seen. To have, on the other hand, placed the vallum lower on the face of the hill would (independently of mechanical difficulties in its construction) have

¹ A very perfect instance of a similar feature is to be found in the gate of Sulsbury camp, near Bath, which was visited during the late Congress. It is a proof of a high state of military discipline, and may therefore be safely considered a sign of Roman occupation.

² Journal, vol. x, p. 4.

materially increased the extent of lines to be defended, while the steepness of the additional ground enclosed would have rendered it totally unavailable for the accommodation of the garrison. The line which has been adopted, therefore, combines the most perfect military security with the greatest amount of valuable space possible under the circumstances. Other points of resemblance might also be pointed out: such as the additional defences applied to a gate where the access is easy, while at another, where the approach is more difficult, no such precaution is taken.

To the north the view from Cissbury hill is very limited, owing to the intervention of the main ridge of the South downs, which is of higher elevation. At the distance of about a mile and a half, this again sinks rapidly, and in some places very abruptly, to a vast expanse of flat country. It is obvious that these circumstances afford to an enemy an opportunity of approach within a short distance of the central camp without being perceived, and also give him great facilities for intercepting foraging parties, and cutting off any cattle that might be allowed to pasture outside the rampart. To obviate this danger, we find the outpost of Chanktonbury (or Chenkbury, two miles from Cissbury) ring erected on the crest of the ridges, at a point from which Cissbury is visible on the one side; while on the other the entrenchment commands not only the whole Rape of Bramber, but also a tract of country so extensive that its site has become an object of great attraction to the tourist on account of the magnificent view obtained from it. This fortification is circular, and is defended by a single rampart and ditch, which is a class of earthworks frequently met with under similar circumstances.

On turning to the east the conformation of the downs conceals, both from Cissbury and Chanktonbury, or Chenkbury, that part of the course of the river Adur which lies between Bramber castle and its mouth at Shoreham. It was in consequence necessary to throw out an outpost on this side also, for which the hill above the village of Lancing furnished a most admirable site. It is impossible to speak with any certainty as to the original form of this fortification, in consequence of the locality having been afterwards occupied by other constructions evidently of a

posterior date to the earthworks I am now describing. It is evident, however, that it was connected with the camp at Cissbury by a carefully formed road, which has on its south side a mound of considerable height: a feature of no uncommon occurrence, but one the use of which we, with our imperfect knowledge, are often puzzled to divine.

On the south, the camp at Cissbury commands the coast and the low land adjacent, from Beachey Head to a short distance beyond the town of Worthing, where the high ground on the opposite side of the road to London by Findon again intercepts the view. In order to obviate this disadvantage, we find another outpost constructed. It is situated on the flat top of High Down hill, immediately above the place known as the Miller's Tomb, from it being the spot which an eccentric individual of that profession selected for his burial. The fortification follows the outline of the plateau, and in general consists of a single rampart and ditch; but on the east, where there is a gate in the most favourable position for communicating with the southern one of the central camp, there are distinct traces of a double rampart, though much obscured by quarrying operations of a recent date. Abutting on the vallum, on the opposite side, is one of those extraordinary circles, the outline of which, without any break in its continuity, is distinctly marked, although only by a ridge of earth a few inches in height. I have met with similar circles in more than one earthwork, but must admit my total inability to give any explanation of the use for which they were intended. Between these two points there are three artificial excavations similar to those at Cissbury.

I beg now to direct attention to the following points of general interest: 1st, to which of the nations that successively occupied this island, are we to ascribe the construction of these most skilfully arranged fortifications; and 2nd, by what tests must this question be determined?

Camden states his opinion in the following words:¹ the fort at Cissbury is "compassed about with a bank widely cast up, wherewith the inhabitants are persuaded that Cæsar entrenched and fortified his camp; but Cissbury, the name of the place, doth plainly show and testify that it was the work of Cissa", a king of the Anglo-Saxons, who succeeded circa A.D. 514.

¹ *Britannia*, vol. i, p. 188.

Mr. Turner, after remarking that the silence of the *Commentarium de Bello Gallico* negatives the supposition that Julius Cæsar himself, or any part of the army he personally commanded, were ever within the limits of the county of Sussex, and adverting to certain circumstances which afford evidence that the place was at one time occupied by the Romans, concludes with the observation that "the fact of the circular shape of this earthwork determines it not to have been of Roman construction."¹ This denial of the Roman origin of the entrenchment proceeds on the opinion once generally entertained by the antiquaries of this country, that, under no circumstances whatever, did that nation ever adopt any form of encampment but the regular square and rectangle; and that all earthworks of a different configuration must be attributed to the British, the Saxons, or the Danes. Popular, however, as this idea has been, there can be no doubt that it is one of the greatest errors into which archæologists have ever fallen. It is founded on certain well known passages in Polybius and other classical writers, wherein the Roman system of fortification is shortly described; but it has been overlooked, that these occur, not in treatises on military art, but that they are mere episodes in historical works. They certainly establish that the rectangle was a favourite form of entrenchment with the Romans,—nay more, that it was the mode of construction adopted in their first-class regular fortifications garrisoned by such a force as a legion consisting of from six to ten thousand men. They, however, furnish no evidence that this form was invariably adhered to, or that the camp of a smaller body of troops was constantly made a miniature fac-simile of that of a legion. Had a modern historian occasion to describe the system of fortification now in use, there can scarcely be a doubt that he would confine himself to the first system of Vauban; but would this be any proof that no other mode of defence is ever adopted? Would it entitle us to conclude that, because the forts of D'Issy and Mont Valerian are regular fortresses, the *mur d'enceint* of Paris is not the work of the same engineers? We are, however, possessed of more direct evidence than can be supplied by criticism of this kind. The only professional treatise on military

¹ Sussex Archæological Collections, iii, p. 180.

science which has descended to us from Roman times contains the clearest and most convincing proof of the futility of this prevalent idea. On no subject does the work of Vegetius (*De Re Militari*) contain more full and particular instructions than on this of encampments; and the following passages from that author are certainly conclusive of the present question:

(Lib. i, c. 22.)—"Castra autem, præsertim hoste vicino, tuto semper facienda sunt locu, ubi et lignorum et pabuli et aquæ suppetat copia. Cavendum etiam ne mons sit vicinus altior qui adversariis captus posset officere. Considerandum etiam ne torrentibus inundari consueverit campus." (C. 22.)—"Interdum autem quadrata, interdum trigona, interdum semi rotunda, prout loci qualitas aut necessitas postulaverit castra facienda [sunt]. Porta autem quæ appellatur prætoria aut orientem spectare debet aut illum locum qui ad hostes respicit."

Again, in lib. iii, c. 8, after repeating his cautions as to situation and supplies, he proceeds:

"Quibus caute studioseque provisus pro necessitate loci vel quadrata vel rotunda vel trigona vel oblonga castra constitues. NEC UTILITATE PRÆJUDICAT FORMA. Tamen pulchriora erectuntur quibus ultra latitudinis spatium tertia pars longitudinis additur."

The form of a camp, therefore, does by itself furnish no test by which we can determine by what nation any particular earthwork was erected; for although those of a square or rectangular figure may be safely referred to the Romans, those of a circular or triangular shape may owe their origin to the same nation. This fact ought also to put an end to a common but most inaccurate way of describing the shape of many of our earthworks, by torturing them from their true form to that of an *irregular square*, simply because, owing to the existence of other evidence, their occupation by the Romans could not be denied. For I believe that in all such cases (certainly in all I have examined) it will be found that there has in reality been no attempt at rectangular *exploitation*, but the outline of the rampart has been determined by the natural features of the site.

The discovery of articles of personal ornament, of domestic economy, of religious observance, or the vestiges of buildings and roads in connexion with an encampment, affords a generally accurate test for determining by whom

it has been occupied, but furnishes no evidence as to its original authors, because there can be no doubt that on many occasions a conquering race availed themselves of the fortifications previously erected by the vanquished. Even in regard to occupation, moreover, this criterion must be applied with the greatest caution. The evidence derived from the place of discovery or other circumstances, must clearly show that such articles belonged to the garrison of the entrenchment, or that the buildings were contemporaneous with its occupation as a military post, otherwise these vestiges of antiquity can have no weight in determining this point. The existence of barrows belonging to the stone or bronze period is not necessarily a proof that a neighbouring camp was not constructed in the iron one. Coins, arms, or ornaments found in the vicinity or even within the rampart of an entrenchment, may have been dropped, not by one of the defenders, but by a member of an attacking force, or may have been deposited at a later period. In the same way buildings may have been erected on the site at a time long subsequent to its being used for military purposes. I may add, however, that a combination of such circumstances may justify a conclusion, although each taken separately could not authorize it. The facts mentioned by Mr. Turner, in connexion with the Roman occupation of the Cissbury camps, furnish a very good illustration of this class of evidence. They are:

1st.—The discovery of Roman coins and Roman pottery of a curious kind at the foot of Cissbury hill; but the place is a considerable distance from the camp, and these relics are not necessarily connected with its defenders, and may possibly have been deposited at a period subsequent to its occupation.

2.—A tessellated pavement and other Roman remains have been found on Lancing hill; but as Mr. Turner most justly observes these could not have belonged to the first Romans who explored the district. The vestiges of the presence of that nation in this island must be divided into two distinct periods: 1st, that during which the legions merely held the country as an army of occupation, in continual strife with hostile tribes; and 2nd, when a peaceful and flourishing colony had been established. The duration of these periods of course varied in different districts; but in the greater part of England we may assume that the change occurred in the time of Agricola, whose policy, as we learn from Tacitus,¹ it was

¹ De Vit. Agric., c. 21.

to encourage as much as possible its progress. To the first belong the earthworks occupied by the Romans; but to the second must be referred the remains of villas, temples, and more permanent fortifications, such as the walls of many places. These two classes of relics are distinct; and the existence of the latter in the vicinity of a camp or entrenchment gives no warrant for supposing that it has been constructed, or even occupied, by the Romans for military purposes.

3.—Three quarters of an acre of land, sloping immediately from about the centre of the south side of the foss, and sheltered on the east and west by rising hills, is called the "Vineyard"; and fields with similar names are by no means uncommon near Roman stations in some districts. A culture of this nature must, however, be referred to a period subsequent to the occupation of a fort, which required to be strengthened by outposts in all directions; for it is impossible that its garrison would create so favourable a shelter for the unperceived approach of an enemy as vines cultivated in the Italian manner would afford. Witness the way in which they concealed the advance of Kellerman and his cuirassiers at Marengo.

4th.—The foundations of a prætorium can be traced in the centre of Cissbury camp; and a road, undoubtedly of Roman construction, connects it with the station at Lancing. These are works in evident connection with the military use of the camp, and are therefore incontestible evidence of its having been occupied by the Romans.

The degree of skill displayed in the construction of earthworks and the selection of their site, along with what we can learn from their remains of the purpose they were intended to serve, will often throw light on the period of their formation. The Cissbury group, for instance, has evidently been constructed by a force which was exposed to attacks both from the sea coast and from the interior; but more particularly from the latter, which is characteristic of a tribe or nation of invaders, rather than of one which had been long settled in the country. As the occupation of these entrenchments by the Romans is established, this would seem to assign their origin either to that nation or to the Belgæ, who, Cæsar informs us, subdued the maritime part of Britain.¹ The same author has, however, left us a description of the mode of castrametation adopted by the latter: "*oppidum autem Britanni vocant quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt*"; and this is corroborated by the defences of the two strong-

¹ De Bello Gallico, iv, c. 21.

holds which alone he had occasion to storm, that of Cassivellaunus, is "*silvis paludibusque munitum*", while of the one previously encountered he observes: "*se in silvas abdiderunt locum tracti egregia et naturâ et opere munitum quem, domestici belli ut videbatur causâ, jam antè præparaverant nam crebris arboribus succesis omnes introitus erant præclusi.*" From this it would appear that the sites selected by the Belgæ for their fortifications were generally low and concealed among the woods, taking advantage rather of the obstacles presented to an enemy by thickets and morasses than of the security derived from the elevation of the ground and the difficulty of the ascent. Vestiges of this class of fortification are sometimes met with, but they are comparatively of rare occurrence, being peculiarly exposed to destruction by agricultural improvements. The Cissbury earthworks belong to a different type, being emphatically hill forts, and therefore I should be more inclined to ascribe to them a Roman than a Belgic origin. They also appear to be peculiarly adapted for a war where the enemy does not risk pitched battles or long sustained attacks, but makes sudden irruptions and unexpected descents on foraging parties, which were the precise tactics the Belgic Britons employed against Cæsar.

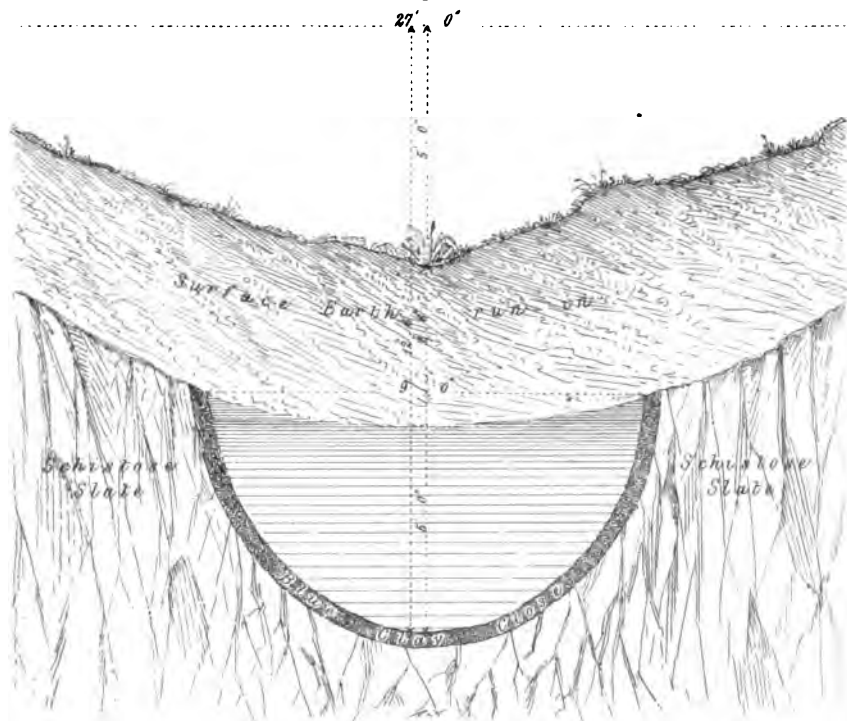
A sufficient supply of water is one of the requisites of a camp particularly insisted on by Vegetius, and the mode in which it is secured will often assist us in determining the original constructors of the entrenchment. Where a natural spring or stream is found within the ramparts this test is inapplicable, and it is only when the supply is obtained by artificial means that it becomes useful. We can hardly suppose that the Britons before the invasion of the Romans were more alive to the military importance of this element than the Cimbri were in the time of Marius, and it is well known that his success in the campaign of Aquæ Sextiæ was, in a great measure, owing to the advantage he took of the inattention of that tribe to this matter. Where, therefore, we find that water is procured by ingenious artificial means, we may with much probability conclude that the entrenchment is of the Roman or post-Roman periods.

Mr. Turner conjectures that the camp at Cissbury was supplied from the wells at Applesham, about three miles

distant. Such a plan we can conceive might be adopted in the case of a small outpost, like Chanktonbury or Chenkbury, where the guard being probably relieved every twenty-four hours, might easily carry with them a sufficient supply; but that the garrison of so large a fortification as that on Cissbury hill was compelled to procure the water required by it in this manner is hardly possible, unless we are to suppose such an amount of ignorance of military science as is scarcely compatible with the skill otherwise shown in the selection of the site. Many observers have, however, been inclined to think that the artificial hollows, of which mention has been made, were used as reservoirs. To this Mr. Turner objects that it is impossible they could be intended for this purpose, first, because the fort is situated on the summit of a high chalk hill; and, secondly, owing to their position in the fort. To neither of these objections am I, however, inclined to attach any weight. As to the first, it certainly presents a difficulty at first sight, but one which the Roman engineers could meet with the greatest skill and ingenuity.

I have already alluded to the camp on Bodsberry Hill, in Lanarkshire, as presenting us with the same type of fortification as that at Cissbury. It also contains an artificial excavation. As this is situated immediately above a vein of schistose slate of the most open nature, Mr. Turner's objection to the Cissbury hollows being reservoirs of water would apply with even greater force. I therefore determined to have it opened, and have now to direct your attention to the most interesting result (see pl. 37, fig. 1). The depression visible on the surface was twenty-seven feet in diameter, five feet deep in the centre, and situated at the lowest point of the plateau occupied by the camp. On cutting into it we soon came to signs of the presence of water, and on reaching the depth of two and a half feet, we discovered that a circular basin had been formed in the rock, nine feet in diameter and five in depth; the marks of the tool were distinctly visible on its sides. To prevent the escape of the water through its slaty and porous formation, it was lined throughout with a coating of blue clay, four inches thick, which had been prepared with the greatest care, in fact, made as smooth as that used by a sculptor; and this ingenious contrivance is rendered more curious by the fact

Fig. 1.



Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ Inch to a Foot.

Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



that no clay of this quality could be obtained within the distance of thirty or forty miles. The basin was found full of excellent water, and after it had been emptied for the purpose of inspection, it filled again in the course of the succeeding night and day, although the examination was made after a long season of dry weather. As a similar simple contrivance would be as efficacious in the chalk of Sussex as in the slate of Lanarkshire, the first objection is clearly untenable. As to the second, so far from considering the position of the excavations within the fort as any proof that they could not be intended for reservoirs, I should be inclined to appeal to this very circumstance in support of that idea. The principal group is situated at the very point best calculated for the reception of the surface drainage of the greater part of the plateau, and in regard to the solitary one on the south-eastern side, I observed that the rush of surface water towards it had, on the occasion of some severe storm, been so great as to furrow the turf to the depth of five or six inches. This liability to be flooded with surface water would militate against their being huts, as Cartwright suggests, or Druidical temples, as conjectured by Mr. Turner, so would their position in the immediate vicinity of the rampart, while the higher, drier, and safer part of the plateau is left unoccupied. Looking also to the analogy of the well in Bodsberry camp, I am decidedly of opinion that there is the greatest probability that these excavations were used as water tanks. I say probability only, because without actual excavation there can be no certainty, more especially as there are other artificial depressions, very similar in their outward appearance, which yield to this operation evidences, not of water, but of fire, such as wood ashes, bones of animals, broken pottery, and fragments of domestic instruments. These hollows often occur in groups, and it has been customary to describe them as the remains of British huts and villages. Nay, some ingenious antiquaries have even gone the length of arranging them in a chronological series, founded on a scale of ascending comfort, beginning with those where the absence of ashes condemns the inhabitants to a diet of raw reptiles, and ending with one in which the discovery of a human bone is considered ample foundation for a charge of cannibalism.

It is to be hoped that the latter accusation is as unfounded as the former evidently is, for who can believe that any one passed their life without a single stick of fuel in a country to which the words of Longfellow, "This is the forest primeval", were at that remote period strictly applicable. Might not the cooking have been done out of doors, as is frequently the case in savage countries; or might not compassionate charity have suggested the idea of a storehouse. Even putting aside such extreme speculations, there does not, after all, appear to be a single *positive proof* that these hollows are the remains of British habitations. It is true that we are told by some of the earlier writers on Britain, that the dwellings there consisted of circular holes covered with skins or with branches of trees and turf, and it is perfectly possible that the excavations referred to, especially if of small size and in a dry situation, may be the remains of these rude huts. On the other hand, artificial hollows of precisely the same character are often found in close connexion with the traces of Roman occupation, and containing remains undoubtedly Roman. An instance of this is recorded by that eminent archæologist, Professor Wilson of Toronto, in the first volume of the *Proceedings* of the Scottish Antiquarian Society, p. 59: "Various specimens of Samian and other Roman ware were found during the cutting of a branch of the Edinburgh and Glasgow railway to join the Northern railway; a series of shafts or wells, such as have been repeatedly met with on Roman sites in this country, were also disclosed, containing animal matters, horns, skulls, and bones, broken pottery, and the like refuse of domestic life." In some cases the excavations assume a square form, and in others they contain a trace of metallurgical operations. In fine, when we remember that hollows of this artificial character are met with in all parts of the island, from Aberdeenshire to the Isle of Wight; when we consider that, although their external appearance may be similar, they have undoubtedly been constructed for widely different purposes; and when we observe the very few excavations that have been made, and the very small number of facts that are recorded relative to them, we are forced to admit that it is a subject upon which we do not possess sufficient information to entitle

us to propound any general theories, or to lay down any rules for a system of classification. It is, however, one of much interest to the archæologist, for although its investigation will probably not enrich our museums in the same manner as the examination of barrows has done, it is calculated to throw even more light on the domestic manners of the early inhabitants of the island, and from the greater or less connexion which generally subsists between these excavations and some earthwork entrenchment in the vicinity, may in all likelihood elucidate some of the more obscure periods of its history. I shall therefore conclude this paper by expressing the hope that the pickaxe and spade of the antiquary may soon furnish us with as voluminous an array of facts relative to these vestiges of our ancestors while in life, as they have done in regard to their remains after death.

PART II.

Having prosecuted the investigation of the remarkable artificial hollows which are found in the Cissbury group of camps, I have now the honour of laying the result before the Association.

On applying to Mr. Daubrez, of Offington House, the proprietor of Cissbury, that gentleman not only gave me permission to make any excavations I might consider necessary for my inquiry, but also kindly invited me to inspect some ancient vessels in his possession.

These I found to consist of two earthenware vases of Roman or Romano-British origin (see plate 37, figs. 2 and 3). The first is remarkable, not only for its form, but also for the band of ornamentation which surrounds it. The general colour of the vase is a reddish brown, on which the chequered pattern appears as a light blueish grey; and at one place this retains unmistakable signs that it was originally gilded, a small portion of the metal being still preserved. The other is of coarser workmanship, and of a yellowish colour. These vessels were found, along with others of a similar character, near Offington mill, on the right hand side of the road leading to Cissbury, and about four feet below the surface, at a place where, as far as can be judged from the present appearance of the

ground, which has been altered by the erection of a cottage and other offices there, must have been at one time a barrow of considerable size.

Opposite this spot, on the other side of the road, is one of the artificial hollows to which my investigation was chiefly directed. A section of it is given in one of the plans exhibited (see plate 38). On opening this there were found some faint traces of wood charcoal, a large collection of oyster shells, and the bones, fragments of pottery, and iron instruments, which are now on the table. About a yard and a half on the upper side of the hollow there was a trace of a small mound, most probably formed of the earth thrown out. On digging into this nothing was discovered except a single fragment of pottery of the same character as those in the hollow.

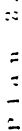
I was here joined by Mr. Ballard, the intelligent occupier of the mill, who takes great interest in antiquarian researches. He very kindly presented me with several pieces of Roman pottery, including one of Samian ware, which had been from time to time picked up near this place; also with a very curious piece of burnt earthenware found in Cissbury camp, and with a portion of a flue-tile, and part of a large vessel found near Chenktonbury (or Chenkbury); but he was unable to inform me of the exact spots where the last three enumerated articles were discovered.

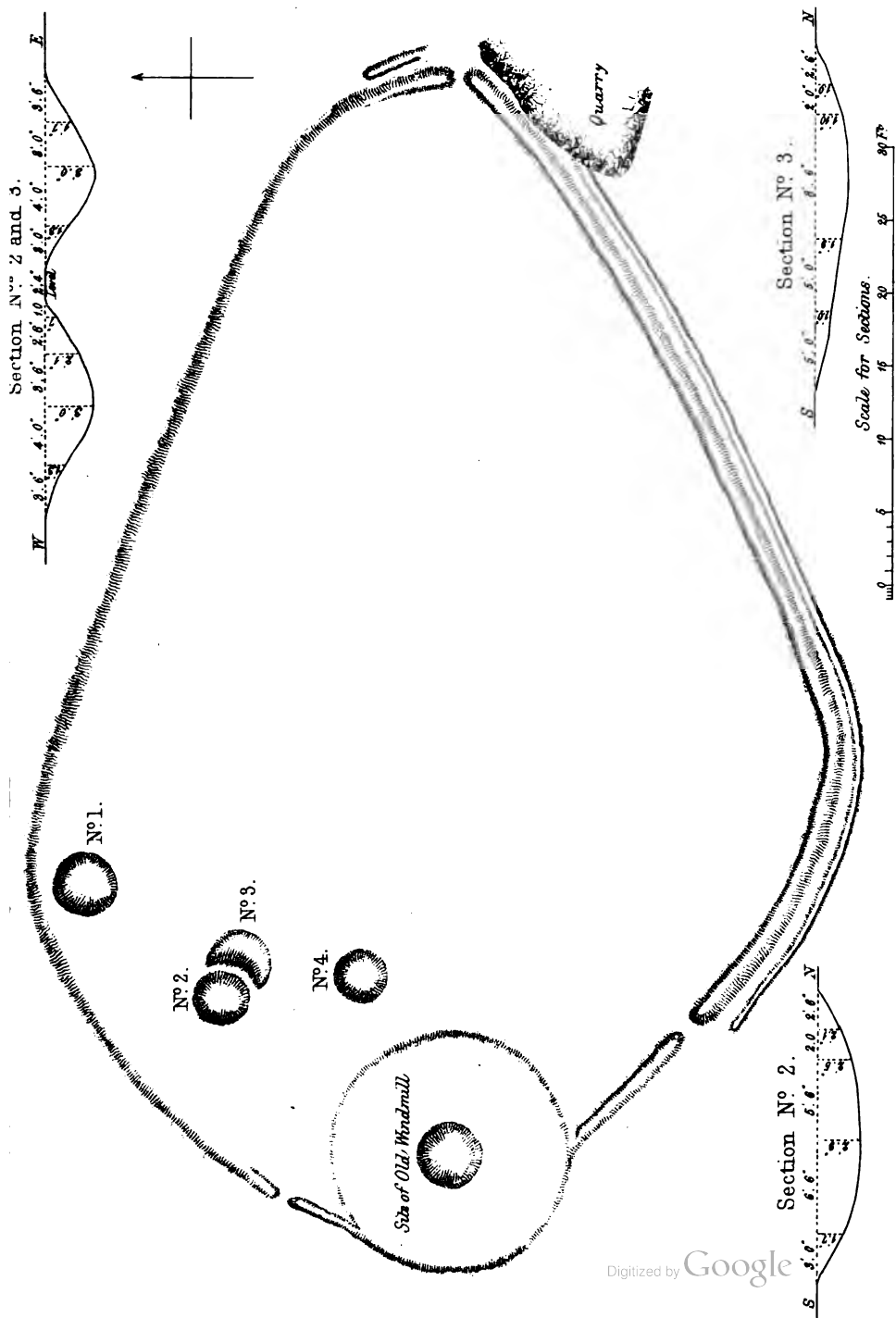
On ascending towards Cissbury, I observed, at two different points, close to the left side of the road, a single hollow, similar to that at Offington mill; but as these had been much disturbed by the plough, and my time was necessarily limited, I made no attempt to excavate them.

On reaching Cissbury camp, the detached hollow on the south-east (a section of which will be found in plan, No. 1, plate 38) was first opened. It was found to have been formed in a stiff clay marl, and contained the small portion of very decayed bones and teeth which I now exhibit.

I next directed my attention to the great group of these hollows on the south side of the camp, which I found to be upwards of thirty in number. Plan 1 contains a ground sketch of a portion of them,—in fact, of as many as time permitted me to take the bearings and measurement of,—and sections of the more remarkable of these. I may add,

Plan 1.





however, that this portion is a fair type of the whole, both as to the irregular arrangement and general form of the hollows. Two only present any material divergence in the latter respect. In the one case a cart road has been formed, leading into the hollow; in the other, of which a plan and section are given, two hollows have been connected by the excavation of a passage.

The opening of No. 1 was found to be exceedingly difficult, owing to its contents consisting almost entirely of a collection of large pebbles washed down from the sides. The operation, moreover, produced nothing but a half-penny of William III.

Nos. 5 and 6, with the double hollow above referred to, presented the same character of soil, and were consecutively drawn blank.

In No. 7 the soil was of a softer nature, and the excavation, as at Offington mill, produced a trace of wood charcoal, a quantity of oyster shells, and the fragments of bones and pottery now on the table; but no iron antiquities.

Having received the same liberal permission from Mr. Henty, in respect of his property at High Down hill, I was enabled to pursue a similar investigation in that encampment.

Plan No. 2 (plate 38) contains a ground sketch of this camp, with the hollows found in its interior, and sections of the latter. The fortification on the north and west consists of an escarpment only; but on the south and east the defence is strengthened by a ditch and counterscarp. In part 1 I noticed a circular ridge on the west side, the purpose of which I admitted my inability to explain. On this point I was, however, at once enlightened by the information I received from a neighbouring farmer whom I met upon the spot. From him I learned that, till a few years ago, this point was occupied by a windmill,—a fact which fully explained its present appearance, the circular ridge being formed by the rotation of the steps leading to it, and the beam by which its position in regard to the wind was adjusted, and the hollow produced by its central support.

Of the other hollows, No. 1 had evidently been opened by some former explorer, and in consequence I thought it

unnecessary to excavate it. Although No. 2 had also been disturbed, I had it opened, with the view of ascertaining whether it had any connexion with No. 3, but found that they were entirely separated by a portion of the original soil, which had never been subjected to any artificial operation. No. 2 produced no remains; but with No. 3 it was different. In it the excavation had to be carried to the depth of upwards of five feet before the undisturbed soil was reached, which considerably exceeded that necessary in any other instance. It also possessed this peculiarity, that the eastern side of the cutting, for more than half that depth, consisted of the smooth face of a projecting portion of the subjacent rock. Near the surface some irregular pieces of tinned iron were found, such as those we often see left behind by gipsies or tinkers; then the tobacco-pipe and tile produced, and lastly oyster shells; charcoal in a larger quantity than in the cases before mentioned, and the bones and the two fragments of pottery exhibited.

No. 4 produced on excavation more vestiges of recent times than any other of the hollows examined: such as pipkins of a form similar to those now in use; bottoms of large bottles, of the kind common during the last century, and known as magnums; tinned iron of the same character as that found in No. 3. The tobacco-pipes, and portions of an iron pot, which I exhibit along with a number of bones, were also discovered in this place.

The gentleman from whom I received the information about the windmill also most obligingly called my attention to a portion of the down on the eastern slope of the hill, between the Miller's tomb and the camp, about one hundred and fifty yards from the latter. To the eye it presented nothing to distinguish it from the surrounding ground, but on treading on it it produced a hollow sound very different from that obtained from the other part of the down. I had it opened in two places, and found that the soil, to the depth of three feet, or thereabouts, consisted of a rich black mould. Among this there were discovered a faint trace of charcoal in one or two places, numerous oyster shells, and the bones, broken pottery, horseshoe nails, and iron handle, which form the last group of articles exhibited.

Having submitted the various articles found in these excavations to Mr. Syer Cuming, our respected honorary secretary, he was so kind as to furnish me with the following able and interesting report upon them :

ANTIQUITIES FROM CISSBURY AND HIGH DOWN CAMPS, SUSSEX.

"After a careful examination of the antiquities obtained from the pits in Cissbury and High Down camps, I unhesitatingly pronounce the majority to be of Roman origin, without the slightest admixture of either British or Saxon *reliquiæ*,—the non-Roman articles being of a very late period, and in no way connected with the early history of these pits. Nearly the whole of the *factilia* are fragments of various sized *ollæ*, with a few pieces of *dolii*, some portions of *patera*, and a small part of the neck and handle of an *ampulla*. Most of the fragments are of a light reddish hue ; but there are some of a greyish tint, closely resembling the Upchurch pottery. A few of the fragments merit special attention, as, for instance, three stout pieces of a large *dolium*, exhibiting the deep impress of the workman's fingers on their inner surface ; and three other fragments, which appear partially covered with a dull greenish brown glaze, reminding us of the vessels discovered in Oxfordshire, and described in our *Journal* for June 1856, p. 178. Out of this large amount of *factilia* there occurs but a single piece of the so-called Samian ware.

"The only indication of a building found among these remains is the fragment of a large flue-tile with a scored surface, resembling many specimens discovered in London and elsewhere.

"The iron articles, though few in number, are still worthy of attention. We have the pointed half of a small knife-blade ; some nails, identical with those frequently found among Roman remains ; and two elongated hexagonal pieces, with points at back (which I take to be staples), similar to an example discovered at Headington, and engraved in our *Journal* (vi, p. 52, pl. 4, fig. 6). The half of a horseshoe, with a low calkin, is much like one found with Roman *reliquiæ* in Fenchurch-street in 1833, and the specimen exhumed at Alchester, and described in our *Journal* for September 1856, p. 240. The bow handle with recurved ends forming loops, holding link-staples, may probably be of a later period than the Roman era, as likewise the two fragments of the large cooking pot.

"The remains referrible to a post-Roman epoch may be dismissed in few words ; for the very earliest are certainly not older than the sixteenth century. They consist of the indented bottom of a large glass bottle (*temp.* Henry VIII), some pieces of brown-glazed vessels (*temp.* Elizabeth or James I), several small fragments of white porcelain of an indefinite age, three bowls of tobacco-pipes, of white clay, of the time of the commonwealth, Charles II, and William III, and a halfpenny of the last named monarch.

"Among the animal remains obtained from these pits may be noted the bones and teeth of the deer, ox, sheep, horse, and hare or rabbit. Two of the round bones exhibit tracings of artificial cutting, and are perforated towards their ends, as if to admit a cord or strap. The abundance of oyster shells in this as in other sites of Roman occupation, prove the extensive employment of these mollusca as articles of food in early times.

"Looking at the remains now brought to light at the pits in the Cissbury and High Down camps, and comparing the general appearance and character of these pits, and their contents, with those at Ewell and the Royal Exchange, the conclusion seems irresistible, that, whatever the primary intent may have been, they were, at least during the Roman sway, employed as huge 'dust-holes', into which refuse of all descriptions was promiscuously cast."¹

Although I entirely coincide with Mr. Cuming in thinking that the various articles were thrown away as refuse, I am not prepared to assent to the idea that the hollows were either primarily or subsequently used as "dust-holes". The last excavation on the side of High Down hill may have, indeed, revealed such a receptacle, the black earth being the remains of the more decomposable substances which would be thrown into such a place along with the broken pottery and other useless articles. But the position in which the latter are found in the *hollows* excavated, seems to negative the supposition that, except in the case of the more modern of them, they were originally deposited in the hollow itself; but rather leads to the conclusion that they were thrown down at its edge. Had the former been the case these remains would have been found in a heap at the bottom, on the floor formed of the unworked soil, and have been covered with the earth which afterwards fell from the sides. This, however, is not their position: on the contrary, they are found scattered all through the loose soil, and often near the surface, just as we would expect to find them if deposited at the edge of the hole, and carried down by the subsequent crumbling of the sides.

The purpose for which these hollows were constructed is, indeed, a most difficult problem. The excavations described clearly establish that my original idea of their being connected with the supply of water is untenable;

¹ A notice of the Ewell pits will be seen in our *Journal*, iii, pp. 326, 346.

and how the garrison of a camp so large and important as that of Cissbury was furnished with this necessary element remains still a mystery, unless the following facts may be considered as throwing some light on the matter. Although a portion of the hill is on a chalk soil, a large part of it is covered with a stratum of clayey marl, which retains water. In this soil ponds are frequently made throughout the district, and my attention was called to the remains of one within Cissbury camp itself, which had been constructed only a few years ago; and recent as this operation was, the traces of it are very faint indeed. It is thus possible that, although the supply from such a resource must have been limited, sufficient water might be stored in ponds of this nature to meet the wants of the garrison during a siege, although their usual supply was drawn from a distance.

It is equally clear that these hollows are not the remains of British huts. The whole remains found belong to a later period, and might be described by the enumeration given by professor Wilson of the articles found in pits connected with Roman stations in Scotland, as quoted in part I, thus fully corroborating the date which, from other reasons, I assigned to the Cissbury group of camps.

It may, however, be contended that, although they may not be British huts, the presence of charcoal and bones shows them to be similar habitations of a later date; but the moment we advert to the position in which the charcoal was found in these hollows, its presence ceases to furnish an argument in favour of such an hypothesis. Had these hollows been formed for this purpose, we would have found the charcoal in considerable quantities, and resting on the bottom or floor of the excavation, while the latter would have shewn signs of the action of fire. In no one instance is this the case. No. 3 hollow, on High Down, was the only one in which the place of a fire could be traced by the charcoal, and this was at a point six or seven inches above the floor, evidently after the sides of the pit had partially run in; while even there the action of the fire had not continued sufficiently long to effect the ground on which it rested. In the others, where charcoal appeared, it was in very small quantities indeed, and these scattered through the loose earth; while in several no

traces of it were found. It should also be remembered that the presence of charcoal might be due to fires of a very temporary character, and of a very recent date. These hollows, indeed, present a tempting shelter to vagrants; and I may add that, on the surface of the detached hollow on Cissbury. I found the remains of a fire which had been lighted during the present summer.

The idea that these hollows might be enclosures for cattle more than once crossed my mind during the progress of these excavations, and was certainly much strengthened when the gentleman who gave the information as to the windmill in High Down camp, added he always understood that the hollows there were the remains of the "pig pounds" of the old mill. Our associate, Mr. Bateman, in his *Antiquities of Derbyshire*, p. 128, remarks "that the modern Welsh pigstye is said to be a perfect fac-simile of the British huts." The position of the hollows in relation to the form of the camp, though by no means such as would be chosen for huts, is well adapted for cattle enclosures. The remains found are exactly what one would expect to be thrown down about a pig pound. On the whole, confining the remarks to those in the Cissbury group of camps, and speaking with anything but confidence, I am inclined to consider this hypothesis as the only one which fully meets and explains the whole circumstances connected with these hollows.

ON RUBOROUGH CAMP, SOMERSET.

CONNECTED with the subject of the preceding paper is a communication from the rev. Joseph William Collins, of Bridgwater. Neither Phelps nor Collinson, in their histories of Somersetshire, make mention of Ruborough camp. This may, therefore, probably be the first notice directed to it. The information furnished does not enable us to offer any opinion on the date of its construction, or the nation by which it was erected. It, however, presents to us a most complete illustration of the *castra trigona* of Vegetius,—a

type of camp of which no previous examples have been brought before the Association. It is evident from sketches forwarded by Mr. Collins that this earthwork has been constructed in strict accordance with the rules laid down in the treatise, *De Re Militari*, and that its peculiar form has been adopted by reason of the natural features of its site.

As these features must, in a great measure, depend on the geological formation of the district, it would be reasonable to suppose that other earthworks of the same type would also be found in Somersetshire; and this we find to be the fact. Phelps¹ notices a triangular camp at Merehead on Mendip. He also mentions one at Tedbury, which is similar to this at Ruborough. In this, which is about sixty acres in extent, querns and other rude implements have been found along with Roman coins. It is, moreover, strengthened by an additional outwork on the other side of one of the ravines by which it is partially insulated. Phelps gives an engraving² of a camp called "Dolebury", near *Rowborough* church, which, however, is many miles from the entrenchment of *Rowborough* described by Mr. Collins. The spur of the hill on which it is situated is contracted in breadth and much elongated; in consequence of which the works assume an oblong form approaching that of a rectangle, where the breadth bears but a very small proportion to the length. It has also the linear earthwork, as an extra defence, on the neck by which it is approached; and, like that of Tedbury, is strengthened by an outpost divided from it by a ravine. Coins and warlike instruments of the Romans and Saxons have been found within its enclosure. It also presents us with a resemblance to the camp now before us, in the tradition that it is the place in which untold of wealth is concealed. Mr. Phelps quotes the following lines from Leland in relation to it:

"If Dolebryn digged ware,
Of gold sh^d be the share."

This tradition, however, appears to attach to many of our ancient earthworks. When engaged in making the excavations on High Down hill, to which Mr. Vere Irving

¹ Hist. of Somersetshire, vol. i, p. 107.

called the attention of the Association, an old woman approached, and evidently took an extreme interest in the proceedings; which he found arose from a similar idea, corroborated by the information she had somehow received, that some person had there found a *silver teapot full of silver needles!*

The legend of Dr. Farrer's attempt upon the treasures of Ruborough, communicated by Mr. Collins, bears evident marks of that German Rosicrucian quackery which sir Walter Scott has so ably satirized in *Dousterswivel*; but it is certainly curious to find any allusion to the doctrines of this sect in the relation of a Somersetshire labourer.

Notices like to this of Mr. Collins are most valuable, as they furnish us with particulars in regard to the ancient earthworks of this island which no mere plan can convey; and yet these are the very particulars on which alone any really trustworthy classification of these old fortifications must be founded.

Mr. Collins has favoured the Association with the following tradition and memoranda in relation to Ruborough camp:

"From the circumstance of the valuable relics said to have been found in the field, the enclosure of the camp is called by the residents in the neighbourhood, 'The Money Field'; and the commonly reported tradition is, that 'underneath the surface is an iron castle full of gold and silver, guarded by gnomes and spirits'. On my first visit to the camp, about ten years ago, I was informed by a labourer then working in the enclosure, 'that there was more treasure under his feet than was contained in the palaces of all the kings in the world'. I inquired of him how he knew this; and he replied that he was always told so by aged persons, and that the gipsies had told him so; and that the precious things found in the field proved the truth of it. 'Why, then,' I asked, 'do you not dig in the field till you come to the castle, and make yourself rich from the treasures in it?' 'Ah, sir,' he answered, 'I wish I could; but there is only one iron door to the castle, and I know not where to find it; and it can only be found at full moon.' As I felt interested by his information, I now inquired how these things could be known; and he then related the following amusing tradition, which I will relate as nearly as I can in his own words:

"My father told me that, when he was a boy, a doctor Farrer lived in the parish, who was an uncommon book-learned man, and that he found out from his books how to go into the castle. In the day before

the full of the moon the doctor went over the field with a two-year old shoot of hazel in his hand, and when he came over the door the stick stood upright of itself, in the ground. When he had marked the place he went home to prepare for going down to the castle; and in the middle of the night he came back to the place he had marked, with his servant and the tools he wanted for digging; and he took also a Bible in his hand. 'Now,' said the doctor to his servant, 'do you dig out the earth from the circle I have made; and if you do as I tell you we shall be made this night the richest persons in the world. And this is what I tell you: do you dig on till you strike the spade on the iron door of the castle, and then whatever you hear, or whatever you see, don't speak a word for your life's sake; for if you do we shall lose all power of getting into the castle, and your life will be in danger.' The servant went on digging, whilst the doctor stood on the brink with the Bible in his hand. At last the servant's spade struck on the iron door; and at once horrible groans and shrieks and cries were heard underground in the castle, and spirits of all sorts began to come out at the door, ready to carry away the poor servant. And now he was so terrified that he forgot his master's order, and cried out, 'Lord, have mercy on my soul!' and then one of the spirits caught hold of his leg, and would have carried him off, but the doctor put down the Bible on his head, and, keeping the book there, dragged him out of the pit with the other hand. 'But, sir,' concluded the aged labourer, 'the pit was at once closed up; and the door, I believe, is changed, as no one has been able to find it since.'

"The above story has been since told me by many of the poor inhabitants of the neighbourhood; and, indeed, I have fallen in with some labourers who have themselves dug at the full of the moon with the hope of finding the iron door, 'but were,' they said, 'obliged to give their labour up from the mournful sounds they heard.' These sounds really come, I conjecture by their account, from the wind murmuring as it does, 'most musical, most melancholy', among the pines and other trees that grow around.

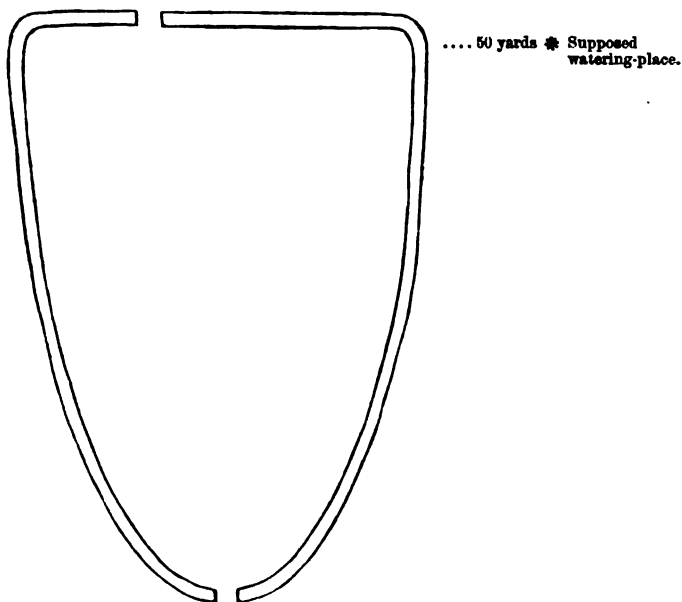
"A turquoise ring or seal, set in solid gold, is said to have been found in Ruborough camp, about one hundred years ago, by a labourer, who immediately after left the neighbourhood. It is also reported that a solid bar of gold and various pieces of armour were found there; but this account is even more uncertain than that concerning the ring or seal.

"The height of the vallum is about eighteen or nineteen feet all round, and now covered with trees and underwood. The upper vallum, or rampart, which has generally been supposed to have formed the upper vallum of the prætorium, seems to me to have been merely built as an outwork and sort of double defence on the only side liable to a sudden attack.

"The camp is situated on a spur of a hill, about one hundred and fifty

feet above the valley beneath, between two hills a little higher, with a valley on both sides; and at the bottom of each of these there runs a small stream. The sides of the hill are so steep that it is hardly possible to ride a horse straight up them. The form and situation of the camp are depicted in outline below; the length being 235 yards, the breadth, at the top, 165 yards, and at the bottom 37 yards.

About half way down the side of the hill on which the camp is situated, there is a small pond (* see below), supplied by a spring, which is supposed to be the place where those who built the camp obtained their water, as it was nearer than the streams which flow at the bottom, on either side of the camp. This pond is now completely covered with bushes and trees."



ON ANTIQUITIES AT KERTCH.¹

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT AND TREASURER.

KERTCH, the Turkish name of which is Ghersèti, is a conquest made by the Russians in 1771, and has been completely Russianized. It is the site of the ancient Greek colony of Panticapæum, once regarded as the queen city of the Bosphorus. To the emperor Alexander is to be attributed its commercial importance; for in 1833 it was declared by count Voronsof (the governor of New Russia) to be the place of general quarantine for the sea of Azoff. The old Greek town was originally built around a hill known by the appellation of the "Arm-chair of Mithridates". The neighbourhood abounds with antiquities, and its church offers a curious specimen of Byzantine architecture, with the date of its erection, A.M. 6225, or A.D. 757, engraven on one of the columns.² It resembles many churches in Greece, and belongs to a period when architecture had degenerated and departed from the fine style of the old Greek edifices. The tumuli are numerous, and range for two-thirds of a mile, several rows deep, on each side of the road leading to Theodosia, and probably date from the time of the foundation of the city by the Milesians. Other tumuli occupy the range of hills in continuation of Mount Mithridates, for six or seven miles in length; and here are to be found the tombs of two kings. There are, however, other groups of tumuli, towards the north, deserving of attention. The Acropolis on the summit of the hill, together with its temples and palaces, have been used as a cemetery. The desire of a M. Stempkovsky to be buried on the highest point caused excavations to be made for a mortuary chapel, when, at a depth of from eight to ten feet, broken Etruscan pottery, fragments of marble and building stones with inscriptions were discovered. There were also numerous tombs, irregularly placed one on the other, containing stone coffins composed

¹ Read February 27, 1856, since which Dr. Macpherson has published his account of excavations made, and antiquities found, at this place; and to which work the reader is referred for much information on the subject.

² Dubois, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, tom. v, p. 113.

of thin layers of Kertch limestone, and filled with bones, which proved them to be Christian.

It is to be regretted that the tumuli of Kertch have not been opened with care and discrimination, so as to have afforded us the benefit of making a comparison of them with the tumuli of other places. According to Dubois de Montpéreux, whose work¹ gained the prize given by the Geographical Society of Paris in 1838, and must be considered as our best authority on this subject, as well as the most extended memorial we have of this place, the group of tumuli near the Theodosian Gate is to be regarded as the most ancient; an opinion arrived at from an attentive consideration of the various articles found within them. The first examination was made in 1824, by M. Blaramberg, when four tumuli were opened, and a list of their contents left in the Kertch museum. One feature is highly deserving of attention in relation to the heads of the deceased, which were generally found surrounded by leaves of beaten gold, which it appears to have been the custom to wear as a crown. An instance of this I once saw in the possession of my late friend, lord Nugent, obtained by him in the Ionian Islands at the time he filled the office of lord high commissioner. The list² of M. Blaramberg, of articles found in one tomb, styled by him (though his authority for the appropriation seems to be without foundation) the tomb of the wife of king Eumeles, is as follows:

1. A bust of Isis in terra-cotta.
2. Two doves in the same.
3. A fragment of Serapis in plaster.
4. ————— a large necklace in carbonated silver, finished by two heads of lions.
5. Ornaments in a vitreous paste imitating glass.
6. Fragments of oxydized iron.
7. Two medals, in bronze, of king Eumeles (ob. B.C. 304), having on one side a head of Apollo, and on the reverse a Priapus before a branch of myrtle.
8. A pair of golden bracelets beautifully worked.
9. Two golden earrings, with small Cupids, ornamented with precious stones.

¹ *Voyage autour du Caucase chez les Tcherkesses et les Abkhases en Colchide en Georgie, en Armenie, et en Crimée.* 6 tom., 8vo., avec Atlas en folio. Paris, 1843.

² Given by Mr. H. Danby Seymour, M.P., in his *Russia on the Black Sea and Sea of Azof*, 1855, p. 268.

10. Two golden rings with convex green stones.
11. A golden ring with an engraved stone of Minerva, very fine.
12. A golden pin with a stone on which is a butterfly.
13. A silver pin with an engraved stone with a head.
14. Four chalcedony eardrops, and some leaves in beaten gold.

The tumuli near the Quarantine¹ are certainly of less antiquity than those on the road to Theodosia. They do not offer the same evidences of the decaying hand of time, and are of more colossal dimensions, whilst their contents exhibit an advance in the state of civilization. Some of these tumuli contain more than one tomb: in one case three were found,—this was on the road to Yenicalah. Two of them were of men, as proved by two swords and a lance found in them; the third was that of a woman, and had a skeleton, the head of which was crowned with leaves of golden laurel, together with various golden ornaments, which would appear satisfactorily to determine the occupant of the tomb to have been a female. These ornaments consisted of earrings, a necklace, fibulæ worked with beads, a large bulla for fastening a belt, with a head of Mercury upon it; plates of embossed gold representing vine leaves and bunches of grapes, which had fallen from the dress of the deceased; pearls of gold, enamelled flowers, and other ornaments of a like character. Two rings, a gold coin of Philip of Macedon, a metal mirror, a clay vase, two feet in height, and other interesting relics, were also found. By the side of the third tomb, on another occasion, a fourth was found, in which were two large Etruscan urns and an amphora. The head of the deceased was crowned with a golden laurel: there were two necklaces, a pair of precious earrings, and a coin,—all of gold. The occurrence of Etruscan vases in these tombs is interesting, and serves only to prove—if, indeed, further proof be necessary of the fact—that, wherever Greece carried her civilization, and established her colonies, there vases are found. Magna Græcia is prolific with them.

The vases collected at Kertch were sadly scattered about, and few remained entire; fragments are all over the ruins of the town, but a few entire specimens have been preserved in private cabinets. Mr. Seymour states that the late empress possessed two at St. Petersburg; that general

¹ Dubois, v, 145 et seq.

Potier and prince Volkhonsky each had one; and that a fourth was sold by count de Betencourt for £160.¹ The museum of Kertch had a fine series,—now, I fear, irretrievably dispersed. Dubois gives the best account of them² in his admirable work before alluded to, and has figured them in plates VII to XV. From the reputed occurrence of the griffin (the emblem of Panticapæum) on those vases, it may perhaps justly be inferred that they were manufactured on the spot where they have been found. They give also many details of Scythian costume, and represent the history of the Amazons.

The catacombs for the reception of the poor are among the tumuli on the road to Theodosia. They are excavations from fifteen to twenty feet in depth, seven or eight feet long, and two and a half feet broad. On descending, an arched door is to be found, which, when entered, exhibits large subterranean chambers, with bodies lying in niches cut out of the white calcareous clay all around.

The tumuli specially regarded as the tumuli of the kings are in what is termed “The Golden Mountain”,³ the crest of which is three hundred and twenty-three feet above the level of the sea; and upon the summit there rises a conical tumulus one hundred feet in height and one hundred and fifty feet in diameter, walled from top to bottom like a Cyclopean monument. Infinite labour has been bestowed upon its erection. Its exterior, like to the Pyramids of Egypt, is cased: it is formed of large blocks of stone, in cubes of three or four feet, placed together without the intervention of mortar or cement. The name of “Altun Obo” (golden mountain) has arisen from the tales of enormous wealth and treasures conjectured to be contained within, and various legends have been given in relation to it. Many fruitless endeavours are reported to have been made to penetrate into its recesses, but it was not until 1832 successfully accomplished by the labours of M. Karreiche. After fifteen days’ toil, by thirty-five men, on the south-west of the tumulus, he had the good fortune to effect an entrance to a gallery, along which he proceeded, without encountering any obstacle, to the centre of the tumulus. The gallery was formed of layers of worked

¹ See also Dubois, v, 153.

² *Ib.*, pp. 151-181.

³ Dubois, plate XVIII.

stone, sixty feet in length and ten feet in height, and three or four feet in breadth. At the end of the gallery, M. Kareiche arrived at a precipice, and found that the centre of the tomb was formed of a circular tower twenty-five feet high and twenty feet in diameter. The floor of the construction was ten feet below the floor of the gallery, and the vaulted roof was composed of four rows of advancing stones. By the aid of stones placed at distances in the side, a descent could easily be made, and M. Kareiche believed himself on the point of acquiring great treasure, when, to his amazement, he discovered the tomb to be empty. On the ground, however, was a large square stone, on which a sarcophagus might have been placed, and half way up the wall was a large empty niche. He could find no indications of passages or chambers; but it is not improbable that, by more diligent search, some might be discovered.¹

According to the Greek legend, this tomb was that of Mithridates, and pilgrimages have been made to it from reverence to the great king. This forms not the only monument of this description in this neighbourhood, though, perhaps, it is the greatest in extent. Dubois² devotes no inconsiderable portion of one of his volumes to the description of the royal tomb of Kouloba, which is situated south of the Golden Mountain. Kouloba means "the hill of cinders", and it is four miles from Kertch. Near it is a tumulus one hundred and sixty-five feet in diameter; and some soldiers accidentally discovered an interior construction. They first arrived at a vestibule six feet square, turned to the north, and covered with an Egyptian roof of three rows of stones. At the end was a door, eight feet ten inches high, and five feet nine inches wide, closed half way up by large wrought stones, and above by those of common size. Beams of wood formed the covering; but time had reduced them to dust. M. Dubrux and Dr. Lang received a commission from the governor to examine the tomb, and take an inventory of its contents. The tomb measured fifteen feet from east to west, and fourteen feet from north to south. The door of entrance was not at the centre of the wall. The walls were of hewn stones, each three feet long and two feet high. Five rows

¹ See Dubois, tom. v, p. 89.

² v, 194-288, and plates xx-xxv.

raised it to seven feet eight inches, whence sprang the Egyptian arch,¹ formed by seven rows of advancing stones, making the tomb reach to the height of sixteen feet. The wooden ceiling was ten feet ten inches from the stone pavement of the tomb. On the floor was placed a wooden sarcophagus, made of yew, eight feet nine inches long and ten inches high. In one of the compartments of the tomb was extended the body of a man of great stature, his thigh-bone measuring seventeen inches and a half long : his skull was extremely thick. The remains of a *mitra*, or Persian cap, were still on his brow. The cap was narrower at the top than the base, and ornamented with two plates of gold, one at the top, the other at the bottom. The latter was an inch and a half broad, and ornamented with festoons and griffins, but in a less workmanlike manner than the other, which was covered with arabesques, figures, and leaves. A massive gold necklace surrounded the neck : it was in the form of an open ring, and twisted like a cord, the extremities passing over each other, and having at each end a Scythian on horseback ; and for the distance of two inches enamelled with blue and green. Similar ones, made of copper, are said to have been frequently found in the tombs of the north, and chiefly in those of the ancient Lithuanians. Other parts of the body were also ornamented. The right arm was encircled by a bracelet of gold adorned with reliefs. Below each elbow were two other bracelets, in electrum, an inch and a half broad. A third pair, of fine gold, were on the wrists. These were finished in Persian winged sphinxes, the claws of which are described as holding a thick thread of gold, by which the bracelet was fastened on the wrist.

A multitude of little sharp flints were lying at the feet of the king, heaped up in a pyramidal form. In the narrower compartment of the sarcophagus were placed the goods and arms of the king ; his iron sword, the handle of which was covered with leaves of gold, and adorned with embossed figures of hares and foxes ; the Cossack whip (*nogaik*), having also a leaf of gold ; and a shield of fine gold, the thickness of which was about that of a five-franc piece, and from its shape showed that it was destined principally to protect the shoulder, and was fitted to the

¹ Dubois, v, 183.

arm. This measured eight inches and a half long, and seven inches and a half broad, and weighed a pound and a half of fine gold. The umbo of the shield was surrounded by a simple circular fillet, and one with the egg pattern, leaving an interval for chiselled dolphins and other fishes. The shield was itself divided into twelve compartments by means of a fillet, and was covered with masks resembling the head of Medusa, alternating with faces having pointed beards, and flies, and heads of sea-horses. As usual in such cases, the bow and its wooden case were reduced to dust, and the plate in electrum, which ornamented the quiver, was the only part remaining entire. This was embossed, and represented a tiger seizing a wild goat, and a deer attacked by the griffin of Panticapæum, whilst behind lay the lion of Phanagoria. The deer, it should be remarked, is the emblem of the town of Diana, which was Kherson. A sea-horse filled the wider part of the plate, and a mask was at the other extremity. Above the tail of the tiger was written ΠΟΡΝΑΧΟ, engraven on the metal. This has been conjectured by some to mean Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, whose tomb it might be; but Dubois thinks it is the name of the artist, as ΦΑΡΝΑΚΟC frequently occurs in the inscriptions of Sindika, now Anapa. Among the arms thus enumerated, a boot in bronze was also found, and its fellow was on the right of the body of the king, opposite the head. Near to the head were also five statuettes, in electrum, one of which represented two Scythians embracing one another, and tightly holding a horn, probably filled with hydromel. Another figure had a purse in one hand, and a strange instrument in the other, and was like a Celtic Mercury. The Scythian Hercules formed another. Around the sarcophagus was a variety of instruments contributing to the supply of the necessities of life. Three cauldrons of bronze (two oblong, and one spherical) were at his feet. They bore evidences of having been frequently on the fire, and employed in cooking: animal matter was still upon them, and they were filled with the bones of sheep. There were also drinking cups and wine, the latter contained in four clay amphoræ, placed upright against the wall. On the handle of one was inscribed ΘΑΣΙ, and below, ΑΡΕΤΩΝ, and in the middle was a fish. This may be presumed to

have held the wine of Thasos. Large *crateres* for holding water (as the Scythians always drank their wine mixed with this fluid) were found near the amphoræ. One of these was of silver, nearly eighteen inches in diameter, and had within it four drinking cups in silver, two of which were of beautiful workmanship. Another *crater* was of bronze, and had also four silver drinking cups ornamented with chiselled work, gilt, representing various animals belonging to the Black Sea and the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Lances and bundles of arrows were laid along the wall. These were furnished with three barbs, to prevent their being drawn out of the flesh into which they might be shot.

A second skeleton was lying on the pavement, much covered with earth, and so richly adorned that little doubt could be entertained as to its being that of the wife of the king inhabiting the same abode of death. She was placed in the same direction as the king, wore on her forehead a mitra like to that of the sovereign, and was furnished with a plate in electrum, skilfully worked. The subjects represented were four women, in Greek costume, sitting in the midst of garlands of lotuses, the stalks of which served as seats and backs. The plate was attached to the mitre by four masks of lions. The bottom of the mitre was bordered by a diadem of gold adorned all round with small enamelled rosettes. On her neck was a grand necklace with moveable ends terminating in couchant lions, and another necklace of gold filagree, to which were suspended small chains holding small bottles of fine gold. Fine medallions, of different sizes and of exquisite workmanship, descended on her bosom, and they were fastened together by small chains and bottles. The medallions were enamelled green and blue: the largest two represented Greek Minervas. At the foot of the skeleton was a magnificent vase in electrum, which is supposed to have contained perfumes. There were also the little bottles usually called "lachrymatories". Dubois has given a plate¹ of the exquisite chisellings on this vase, which is of a very elegant form. The embossed work is highly interesting, and too curious not to be specifically mentioned, for it appears to illustrate an episode in the life of the king.

¹ Atlas, pl. xx.

In the first group the king is seated, receiving the report of a warrior ; in the second, a warrior is stringing a bow, apparently for the monarch, as his own is lying by his side ; the third represents the fruits of war, for the king is wounded, and he is under the hands of the surgeon, having a tooth extracted from his injured jaw ; in the fourth group the king is seen to be also wounded in the leg, which is being bandaged by the surgeon. Singularly enough, and apparently confirmatory of all this, the skull of the king (found in the tomb), was, upon examination, found to be much injured in the lower jaw, it being fractured, and devoid of some teeth : two of the larger were wanting, and another, shorter than the others, had been attacked with disease, occasioning swelling of the jaw. The Scythian costume of the figures is admirably portrayed. By the body of the queen were two gold bracelets with bas-reliefs of six figures on each bracelet, and of the breadth of three inches and a half. Around the head of the body were arranged six knives with ivory handles, the blades of which are said to have resembled those of surgical instruments. A seventh knife had a handle of gold with reliefs on it. There were likewise various gold ornaments, a mirror with a handle of gold, etc.

By the Scythian laws and customs the queen, upon the death of the king, necessarily became an occupant of the same tomb, together with the king's servant and horse of the monarch. The queen had, therefore, we may presume, been strangled previous to her deposit ; and the body of the king's servant was also found stretched across the tomb, along the southern wall, and round him were many plates of gold. His helmet and greaves were much oxydized, and were laid, along with the bones of a horse, in an excavation, two feet square, which occupied the southeast corner of the tomb. Highly worked pieces of wood, apparently having formed parts of musical instruments, were likewise found in the tomb.

A remarkable circumstance remains to be mentioned. All the preceding particulars are in accordance with Scythian customs and practices ; but the sarcophagus of the king, in yew wood, was found to have been adorned with paintings, in a fine state of preservation, having resisted the destructive agency exercised during two thousand

years. The workmanship is decidedly Greek, and it is evident that Greeks must have been specially employed for this purpose.

The existence of a tomb beneath the one which had been thus minutely examined, being suspected, some stones were raised, and a second tomb, much richer than the first, was discovered, containing an enormous quantity of gold, which, it is said, was for several years afterwards circulating at Kertch. M. Dubois says that there was not a Greek woman there who did not possess some relic of this discovery, especially in the form of earrings. No less than one hundred and twenty pounds' weight of gold jewellery was taken from the tomb; of which, however, the government only rescued fifteen pounds. The eagerness to obtain this treasure occasioned a most barbarous and wanton destruction of the objects, some of which are literally chopped to pieces with the hatchet. The gold shield of the king suffered the same fate, and was purchased back piecemeal, by the authorities, for the price of the weight in gold. The tomb is conjectured to be prior to the time of Mithridates, for various reasons, which are ably stated by M. Dubois. From the allegories on the reliefs, he assigns the tomb to Leucon, or Parisades I.

The museum of Kertch was built by the government on the Hill of Mithridates, and was an exact copy of the temple of Theseus at Athens, with a flight of steps leading up to it. The contents were numerous, yet not arranged; and by sale and plunder many most interesting objects were lost. The effects of war have now consummated its destruction. Anatole de Demidoff, who travelled in Southern Russia in 1837, gives a very brief yet interesting notice of the Kertch museum, and regards it as worthy of a special archæological article. The vases preserved in it, he says, have been procured from the neighbouring tumuli, and present designs of much excellence. Marble cenotaphs were drawn from an obscurity in which they had been involved for two thousand years. They bespoke Greek artists by their execution. In the arrangement of the several objects contained in the museum, a chronological order had been adopted, as far as the nature and variety of the specimens would admit; and the numerous inscriptions were accompanied by translations both in the

Russian and in the French languages. These particulars lead us further to deplore the destruction which has taken place, and to lament the impossibility of again gathering together the treasures of the Kertch museum.

At the Congress of our Association, held at Southampton in 1855, we had an opportunity of seeing several vases obtained from Kertch, which were of decidedly Greek character, some having just pretensions to elegance. They are now preserved in the museum at Southampton. By the kindness of my friend, and our associate, Mr. John Barrow, F.R.S., F.S.A., I am enabled to lay before the meeting four specimens of paintings, obtained as spoils of war, and brought home by capt. Sherard Osborn, R.N., C.B., by whom they have been presented to Mr. Barrow. The subjects represented on them are scriptural; but they have been obtained from private habitations, and did not constitute any portion of the ornaments of places of public worship. Similar examples of the same style of art, and representations also of sacred subjects, are exhibited to us by Mr. W. Calder Marshall, R.A., and Mr. George Eaton. The largest specimen, belonging to Mr. Barrow, is $20\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 17, forming thirteen compartments, the largest forming the centre. The subjects comprise illustrations of—the nativity, the annunciation, the wise men of the east, the presentation in the temple, the entry into Jerusalem, the baptism in the river Jordan, the transfiguration, the judgment, death of the Virgin, the Virgin crowned, etc. The compartments are all enclosed within a border, having a scroll pattern, white over red ground. The colours of the paintings are vivid; and it is evident that tapers have been lighted and burnt before them, a line showing the effects of flame being visible along the centre of the painting, in some parts blistering its surface, whilst on other parts portions of dropped and melted wax are apparent. Over the heads of the figures are the names, in Russian, of the personages they are intended to represent.

The missal-like character of the paintings cannot fail to immediately strike the observer; and it is not improbable that they are of no very ancient date, and copies taken from various Books of Offices by the monks of Mount Athos, who were in the habit of aiding the treasury of their convents by these productions.

Proceedings of the Association.

MARCH 11.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Mrs. Kerr, Grosvenor-street, was elected an associate.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

To the Society. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. ii, Part I. Edinb., 1856. 4to.

„ „ Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, années 1853-5, serie vii. Poitiers, 1855. 8vo.

To the Commissioners. Reports on the Paris Universal Exhibition, Parts I, II, III. Lond., 1856. 8vo.

To the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine for March. 8vo.

Exhibitions of various rings were made by Mr. Gunston, Mr. Wills, Mr. Corner, and Dr. Iliff. These had been arranged by Mr. H. Syer Cuming, and were accompanied by the following observations :

“ At our last meeting Mr. Gunston called attention to a number of rings of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries ; and he now places before us others, the dates of which extend over a longer period of time, and present a greater variety of fashions. The earliest is a Roman *annulus* of silver. It is set with an oval heliotrope intaglio, representing a draped figure of the goddess Salus with the snake, and may be compared with the gem engraved in the *Journal* (ii, 90). The next is also Roman, but of late workmanship, and somewhat resembles the *annulus* found at Saxmundham, delineated in our *Journal* (vi, p. 458, fig. 6). It is of base silver, decorated with eyelet holes, and set with a large oval turquoise. This rare specimen was exhumed in Suffolk.

“ From rings of the Roman era we pass to those of mediæval times, and begin with a silver-gilt ring of the fifteenth century, found in the Thames. It is an example of the Zodiac class, consisting of a beautiful chain-hoop of double links, with the head of Aries in front, each horn of the ram having a quatrefoil at its tip. To the end of the fifteenth century is referrible a large brass signet ring discovered at Bury St. Edmunds. On it is graven a merchant's mark, between the letters s. r. The rings

of the sixteenth century are represented by two exceedingly curious examples wrought of silver. The one is a betrothal ring, with clasped hands, similar to that in the *Journal* (vi, p. 158, fig. 5): it is, however, of a later date, and less ornate design. The other ring is of far higher interest. It is a convex hoop with a lozenge in front, on which are placed a skull and cross-bones. Rings with this device were, according to Nares, worn by procuresses during the reign of Elizabeth. Biron, in *Love's Labour Lost* (v. 11) speaks of "a death's face in a ring"; and in the collection of the late T. Crofton Croker was a bone ring inlaid with an oval plate of gold stamped with a skull and winged hour-glass, and inscribed "*Stipendium mors donum vita*". The latest of Mr. Gunston's rings belongs to the latter half of the seventeenth century. It is for the little finger, formed of gold, set with an oval convex piece of lapis lazuli, the sides of the prominent collet being surrounded by seven thin pillars. This delicate little specimen was exhumed at Colchester.

"The rings now exhibited by Mr. Wills present examples of a very different character from those produced by Mr. Gunston. The first is of considerable interest and rarity, namely, a silver signet-ring exhumed in Cannon-street in 1849. It is a plain convex hoop with a flat lozenge in front, on which is sculptured the well known figure of the warrior fastening his buskin, sometimes called Jason, at others Cincinnatus. In this instance, an ear of corn is placed in front of the figure, which seems to identify it with the brave old Roman dictator. I feel some hesitation in pronouncing upon the age of this specimen: it may belong to the classic era, but is more probably a mediæval reproduction of an ancient original. The next ring was recovered from the Thames. It is of brass, of rude and apparently early fabric. The plain, narrow hoop has a round collet decorated with a full-blown rose, and it may possibly have been worn by a partizan of either the white or red faction. A brass signet-ring, of the fifteenth century, found at Winchester, offers another instance of a crowned letter. It is a large W, which, together with the crown, occupies the field of the flat oval collet. This specimen was formerly in Mr. Croker's collection. Another signet-ring, of the time of Henry VIII, is of bronze inlaid with gold. The collet is engraved with a shield charged with a chevron between three martlets,—a bearing found in the coats of the Bagots, Pages, Wymondesolds, and other families; but as no tinctures are indicated, we are at a loss to whom to assign this beautiful relic. It was dredged up from the Thames, off Fishmongers' Hall, in 1856. To the examples of zodiac rings produced by Mr. Gunston, Mr. Wills adds a third specimen, found in the Thames in 1850. It is a flat hoop, having on its broad front the full face of a lion—a diminutive of the sign Leo, whose astral power extended over the breast. This curious ring is of brass: its date the sixteenth century; to the close of which century may also be assigned the following brass ring. It is of

much the same fabric as the preceding one ; but instead of the lion has a trio of seraphim on its front. It was recovered from the Thames in 1850. Mr. Wills also exhibits a good specimen of a rosary ring, of brass, with the decades marked round the hoops like the cogs of a wheel. The flat collet is graven with the initials I. H. S., surmounted by a cross, and with the three nails of the crucifixion beneath. Though the fashion of this ring is as old as the fifteenth or sixteenth century, it cannot, from its style of workmanship, be assigned to an earlier date than the seventeenth century. To the end of the seventeenth, or early part of the eighteenth century, must be referred the two little rings which complete Mr. Wills' exhibition. The first consists of a very narrow silver hoop with open collet, in which is set an intaglio head in amethyst glass. It was found in pulling down a house in Chancery-lane in 1854. The second ring is of iron plated with silver, having three discs in front, graven with a cross, anchor, and heart, the emblems of Faith, Hope, and Charity. This was exhumed near Old Change, Cannon-street, 1852.

"From these examples of European rings we turn to one from Western Africa, brought to our notice by Mr. G. R. Corner. It was obtained, about six years since, in Old Calabar ; and it is stated that the use of such rings is there confined exclusively to ladies of the highest rank. It is evident that the whole was cut out of a thin, flat plate of fine silver, and the ends bent round to form the narrow hoop. The front is a heart-shaped shield, one inch and a sixteenth high, divided into eight horizontal bands by incuse lines, the bands being stamped



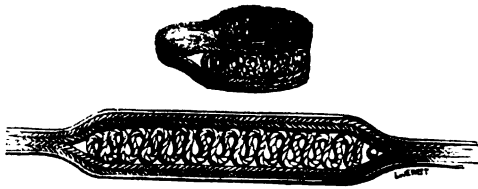
with minute serrated crescents, triangles, and crosses. (See annexed cut.) This curious ring bears a most singular resemblance to one of silver, discovered at Ixworth in Suffolk, delineated in the *Journal* of March 1855, p. 79, and which undoubtedly belongs to the Saxon period, when rings of the broad shield

form were much in vogue, and of which a beautiful example, of gold, found in Hants, is given in our first volume, p. 341.

"Dr. Iliff, of Kennington, exhibits three gold rings. Two of them are set with ancient gems, the largest an onyx cameo, boldly sculptured, with a profile bust of an Ethiopian ; the smaller, a cornelian intaglio, with an andro-sphinx. The latter was obtained in Malta. The third ring has a large collet set with the beautiful opalescent variety of quartz-crystal formerly called *oculus catti*."

Mr. T. Bateman sent for exhibition a fine Roman finger-ring, of silver, set with an oval cornelian engraved with the figure of a deer ; together with a brass spear-head stated to have been found, in 1855, in a tumulus or burial-place, at Stone, near Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, whence many Roman remains have been obtained. In general form this ring bears a close resemblance to one of gold discovered in a glass urn in one

1



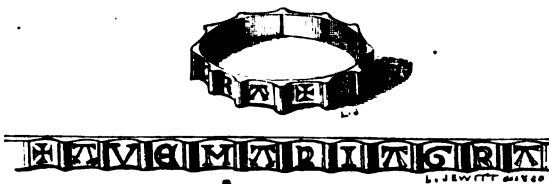
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3



4



GOLD AND SILVER RINGS FOUND IN NORFOLK, SUFFOLK,
AND ESSEX.

1



2



3



4



of the Bartlow barrows, and may also be compared with a gold ring with red stone, found in Suffolk, given in this *Journal* (vol. vi, 158), and with a silver one with onyx gem, from Norfolk, in the number for March 1855 (vol. xi, p. 79). Several curious examples of Roman rings, and their settings, will also be seen in vol. ii, 90; iii, 98; iv, 263, 315, and 316.

Dr. Hodgkin called attention to two objects found together in digging a grave in a churchyard at Feversham, Kent, 1853. The one is the frontal bone of a human cranium, of rather small size; the other, a Saxon tumbler of transparent green glass, in the highest state of preservation, two inches and a half high, and four inches and three-eighths in diameter. It has a rimmed lip, and traces of the *punting* are visible at the base. It is an exact counterpart of a tumbler from Derbyshire, engraved in the *Journal* (ii, 238), and may likewise be compared with one exhumed in Essex (vol. ii, 99). It may be useful to state that Saxon vessels of glass are represented in the *Journal* (ii, 52, 347), and in the number for September 1855 (p. 187).

Mr. Pettigrew exhibited drawings of interesting rings in the possession of Mr. Warren of Ipswich. They form a continuation of those described and figured in vol. xi, pp. 79, 80, of the *Journal*, and were obtained from Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex.

Plate 39, fig. 1, is a gold ring of very pure metal, and of a pale colour, found near Coggeshall in Essex, in March 1851. From the herring-bone pattern with which this ring is adorned, it may probably be presumed to belong to the Saxon period, and it resembles the ornament of one figured in Akerman's *Archæological Index*, plate xix, fig. 7.

Fig. 2 is also of gold, and is a ring or buckle, with an inscription which reads + IESVI : DI : ENLIV : DAMI. It was found at Stowmarket, and resembles one figured in the *Archæological Journal* for September 1854 (p. 285), exhibited to the Archæological Institute by Mr. Evelyn Shirley. It belonged to the fourteenth century, which is also probably the period of this example, and was found near the ruins of Donaghmoyné, or Mannin Castle, in Ulster. The inscription, IHSENAOIIP'CI, is not very intelligible, and the letters are not so distinct as in our specimens. Mr. Shirley's weighed eighteen grains, Mr. Warren's twenty-eight grains. One of the most remarkable brooches of this kind was figured in our *Journal* (vol. i, p. 334), in the form of the letter A, having the following inscription, + IO FAS AMER E DOZ DE AMER.

Fig. 3 is an interesting gold ring found at Hetherset, near Wymondham, Norfolk, about the year 1845. The inscription upon it is + REX * EST * AIA * LEGIS *

Fig. 4, a silver-gilt ring, found in a moat at Gonville Hall, Wymondham. This was for several years in the possession of Mr. Richard Francis of Wymondham. It bears the common inscription, + AVE MARIA GRA., the letters forming which are placed in separate compartments.

Plate 40. Fig. 1, a bronze ring found at Hetherset about 1845. It represents a buckle and strap, and has an inscription which reads, MATER
+ DEI + MEMANTO +

Fig. 2, a bronze ring found near Wymondham, having the letters
I. H. C.

Fig. 3, a bronze ring, which has been gilt, found at Ixworth, Suffolk, in April 1852. It bears a representation of the pelican feeding its young with its own blood.

Fig. 4, a bronze ring found at Icklingham, Suffolk, in March 1852, representing a dolphin.

Captain A. C. Tupper, exhibited two commissions, one signed by sir Thomas Fairfax, knight, "commander-in-chiefe of all the forces, raised or intended to be maintained by virtue of an ordinance of Parliament, bearing date the 15th of February, 1644, for the defence of the kingdome." This appoints "William Moeris, cornett," and is dated April 2, 1645; the other is a commission, appointing the same individual, whose name is however written "William Maurice," lieutenant, and signed by O. Cromwell, as lord lieutenant-generall of Ireland, and captaine-generall of all the land forces of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, and is dated 9th of August, 1650.

Mr. Pettigrew laid upon the table a beautiful drawing by the hon. Miss Eden, of the head of a pastoral staff, forwarded to the Association by lord Auckland, bishop of Bath and Wells. It has been figured in the *Guide to Wells*. It was found in the time of dean Lukin, in the precincts of Wells cathedral.

The substance of the head is of Limoges enamel; and the various dragons composing the head are studded with small turquoises, rubies, and emeralds. Unfortunately, no written record of the finding of this interesting specimen of mediæval art was preserved. But it has been conjectured by the late Mr. John Gage Rokewood, that this staff might have belonged to Savaricus, bishop of Bath and Wells, from 1192 to 1205. The saint is, manifestly, St. Michael vanquishing the dragon, and he is enclosed within the crook formed by the head and body of a larger dragon. The cathedral of Wells has no special relation to the archangel, but is dedicated to St. Andrew. The great aim of bishop Savaricus was to transfer the see to Glastonbury from Wells; and St. Michael was held in great veneration in the former place and on the neighbouring Tor—the great landmark of the whole country.

A ring was found with the pastoral staff, the setting is of gold, very massive but plain. The stone is said to be a pink topaz, and it is drilled through, apparently, to pass a hair through it, or fine thread; so that the ring might be tied fast round the finger.

Mr. C. Ainslie exhibited the umbo of a Highland *targaid*, or target, which was discovered in the Thames, near its western shore, when

excavating for the foundations of the New Houses of Parliament. It is of stout latten, was originally gilt, and measures three inches in diameter. The broad rim surrounding the prominent boss has engraved on it three large acorns with intervening foliage; and the studs, three in number, still remain fixed in their holes. Its date is about the middle of the sixteenth century, or perhaps a little earlier. The umbo upon the Highland *targaid* is, evidently, a continuance of that seen on the Celtic *tarians*, of which examples have been discovered at Rhyd-y-gorse, in Cardiganshire; in the river Isis, near Dorchester in Oxfordshire; and in the Thames, off London. In each of these specimens, the umbo forms a cavity to receive the hand; but, in the Highland *targaid*, it was only retained as a central ornament. Bronze bosses (which would seem to have been employed to cover the parts of the *tarian* where the grips were attached) are engraved in the *Journal* (vi., 56; and x., 170), from originals discovered in Oxfordshire and Ireland.

Mr. Ainslie likewise called attention to the stems of two large drinking goblets, of the close of the seventeenth century, found in Cannon-street; and which exhibit in an eminent degree the lustrous coating, formerly known as *Electrum Britannicum*, an incrustation or oxydation, which forms on glass after long inhumation in humid spots.

Mr. H. H. Burnell exhibited a leaden seal, or cloth-mark, lately discovered on the demolition of an old house in Lombard-street, Chelsea. On one side are the words, WORSTED REFORMED; and, on the other, $\frac{20}{3}$. It is believed that the woollen fabric, known as worsted, derives its denomination from the town of this name, in Norfolk, where it is said to have been first spun at least as early as the reign of Edward III, and where the manufactory still continues. Stubbs speaks of worsted stockings, and Shakespeare has rendered them immortal, by the words put into the mouth of Kent, in *King Lear* (ii. 2), "*a filthy worsted-stocking knave.*"

Mr. W. H. Forman exhibited a bronze statuette of an Etruscan warrior, in the most perfect state of preservation, but somewhat spoiled in appearance by injudicious cleaning, the ærugo being well-nigh all removed from its surface. It is a solid casting tooled up, and measures thirteen inches in height. The head is covered by a close-fitting nasal helmet, with broad *bucculae*, or cheek pieces, enriched with scroll ornaments, and having at top, towards its front, a sort of four-looped knot. The body is defended by a sleeveless covering, taking the shape of the person; and from the waist to the upper part of the thighs, is cut into ten broad *lambrequins*, fringed at the bottom. This, probably, represents a leathern *lorica*, one of the earliest species of defensive armour; and one, which, under the name of *wambus*, continued to be worn in the North of Europe down to the tenth or eleventh century. The upper part of each arm of this figure is bare, the lower being protected by a

brachiale—the *avant-bra*, or *vant-brace*, of the middle ages. The thighs are also bare; but the legs are defended by *ocrea*—the mediæval *greaves*, or *jamb*s. The insteps and ankles are covered by plates, but the remainder of the foot is exposed. The right hand may have held a spear, the left a shield; but both these objects, if they ever existed, are now lost. Mr. Forman purchased this rare statuette, at great cost, at a public sale, and is unable to learn the exact place of its discovery.

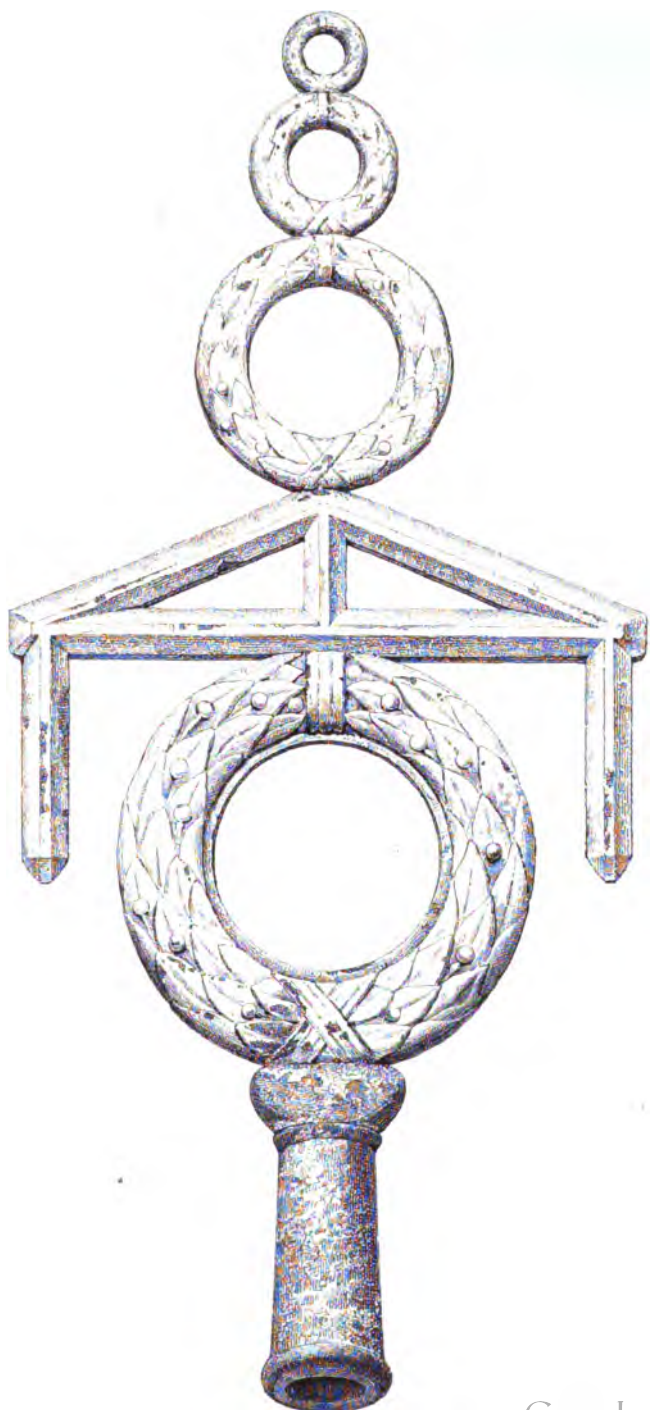
Mr. Forman also exhibited the head of a Roman *labarum*, or standard; which was thus described by Mr. H. Syer Cuming:—

“The columns of Trajan and Antoninus, the triumphal arches of Titus, Severus, and Constantine, and the consular and imperial money, all combine to render familiar to us the various forms of the *signa militaria* of the Romans; from the gay and airy *flammula*, and *manipulus*, with its upraised hand, to the hideous *draco*, and sacred *labarum*. But, familiar though these forms be to us in ancient monuments, the real objects are rarely met with in museums. An example of a brazen *aquila*, or eagle, with its head encompassed by a laurel chaplet, and standing on a hemisphere, capping the shaft socket, is preserved in our National Collection; and a second specimen of the same kind of *signum* is engraved in La Chausse’s *Grand Cabinet Romain*, page iii, fig. 15. Both these *aquila* are of small size, and it would seem that such was always the case; for it is related of an ensign-bearer of Julius Cæsar, that when in danger, he wrenched the eagle from its staff, and secreted it in the folds of his girdle.¹ Though the *aquila* was the principal standard of the Roman legions, Pliny² speaks of four other animals, as having been employed as *signa militaria*, before the second consulship of Marius (B.C. 104), at which time they were laid aside. They were the wolf, minotaur, horse, and boar; and a standard-head in form of a horse, was seen by us at the Congress in 1846, among the treasures at Goodrich Court; and one with the boar, is placed with the *aquila* in the British Museum; but, with the exception of these three specimens, we scarcely know where to point to another Roman *signum*.

“The frames and heads of the *vexillum* and *labarum* (or *supparum*, as these flags were indifferently called in later times), are no less rare than standard-heads. La Chausse (page 118), has engraved the frame of a *vexillum*, consisting of a shaft-socket with curved lateral branches towards its upper part, for the support of the horizontal bar to which the square banner was attached. By the kindness of Mr. Forman, we enjoy the opportunity of inspecting the brazen head of a *LABARUM*, the sacred standard borne before the Roman emperors, from the time of Constantine the Great, and which was of purple cloth wrought with a golden cross, and monogram of Christ, in memory of the refulgent cross which Constantine beheld in the heavens, as he marched against the tyrant

¹ Flor. Hist., iv, 12.

² Hist. Nat., x, 5.



ROMAN LABARUM FOUND AT AIX LA CHAPELLE.

In the Possession of

W. H. FORMAN ESQ."



HEAD OF A ROMAN STATUETTE FOUND IN THE THAMES.

In the Possession of

G. R. CORNER ESQ^{RE} F. S. A.

Maxentius, and upon which were the prophetic words, EN TOYTO NIKAI *By this conquer*. The *labarum* was, in fact, nothing more than the *vexillum* under a new name, and decorated with a new device, its title being derived from the Celtic word *Uab*, a flag. The form and decoration of the *labarum* may be seen on the reverses of many of the coins of Constantine and other Christian emperors; as, for instance, on those of Delmatus, Constans, Magnentius, and others, down to the reign of Michael Rhangabe (811—813).

“The *labarum* head now before us appears to be the work of the early part of the fourth century. It was discovered upon making the railway from Aix-la-Chapelle to Brussels. It is seventeen inches high; the socket will admit a shaft eleven-sixteenths of an inch diameter, and is surmounted by a succession of four circles, decreasing in diameter as they ascend each circle, representing the *corona triumphalis*; between the lowest and second wreath is a horizontal bar with a spike, three inches long at each end, directed downwards. The high degree of preservation, and character of ærugo coating this curious frame, has caused some to question its authenticity; but, after a rigid and most careful examination, I am disposed to regard it as a genuine relic of the Roman era, and, perhaps, one of the rarest objects which adorn the extensive, varied, and most valuable collection of our excellent Associate, by whose permission it has been figured in pl. 41.”

Mr. G. R. Corner exhibited the head of a Roman statuette of marble, found in the Thames; upon which, Mr. H. Syer Cuming made the following observations:—

“It is a truth patent to all who are acquainted with the Roman remains discovered in London, that whilst articles of terra-cotta exist in boundless profusion, and implements and ornaments of metal are far from rare, yet, few traces of works in stone and marble have survived the vicissitudes of time, and the destructive hand of man; and were it not for some fragments of statues, architectural embellishments, and inscriptions, we should have nothing left to proclaim to modern times, that the ancient lords of the soil ever worked in, or possessed anything formed of stone. These facts enhance the value, interest, and importance of the little marble head now brought to our notice by Mr. G. R. Corner, which was recovered from the Thames in 1837, near the site of the old London bridge. Its discovery in the neighbourhood of the spot which yielded up the bronze deities formerly in the collections of Mr. C. Roach Smith, and Mr. John Newman, may possibly indicate the period when it found a watery grave; if, indeed, the theory be correct, that these objects of idolatry were cast into the river by the early converts to Christianity.¹ The head, in question, has evidently been broken from a statuette, and again united to the body, by means of a metal peg, which passed from

¹ Archæologia, xxviii, 38.

the trunk up the neck. If not of fine, it is of good execution, and, probably, the production of some provincial artist; for, though the marble of which it is wrought resembles in some degree that of Paris, it assimilates far nearer to that of the quarry of Vaudelat on the banks of the Loire, which is believed to have supplied the material for most of the sculptures of the classic era, that have been found both in Gaul and Britain. The head (see plate 42) is that of a youthful person, with a peculiar horizontal depression along the forehead. The lips are somewhat prominent and firmly set, with the mouth rather drawn down at the corners. The most marked peculiarity is the hair, which is parted down the middle from the forehead to the occiput; laying in faint, wavy locks, on either side, with the long front-tresses arranged in bold undulations round the head, uniting at the back, where they are most prominent. This mode of dressing the hair greatly prevailed during the latter half of the second century, to which period, I think, this rare and curious piece of sculpture may be assigned. The question naturally arises,—of whom does this head offer a representation? Is it a portion of a male, or female statuette? Is it an ideal face, or a portrait of some historic personage? These questions are easier raised than replied to. There is no attribute or symbol to guide us, and little in the expression of the countenance to indicate individuality. Apollo, a muse, Victory, Hermaphrodite, and Venus herself, have each been suggested as probable personages; and though the hair does not exhibit the high *corymbus* which forms so conspicuous an object in the Belvedere, and some other statues of Apollo, I yet incline to the belief, that this may be intended for the head of the gifted son of Leto; but am still open to conviction, and eagerly invite the opinions of others on the subject. The specimen is quite worthy of consideration on many accounts, but what invests it with so much value and interest, is the circumstance, that it is one of the very few relics of Roman paganism which have been found in London, and that it adds one more to the meagre stock of Roman sculptures here met with; a stock, so insignificant indeed, that we can almost tell them on our fingers; and among the most important of which are the bi-frontal bust of a terminus from the Kent-road; the altar of Apollo, from Foster-lane;¹ the matronæ, from Crutched Friars;² the Phrygian-capped figure from Bevis Marks;³ the Haydon-square sarcophagus;⁴ the monuments of Vivius Marcianus,⁵ and Claudina Martina, from near Ludgate; which, together with some sepulchral inscriptions, and pilasters from Christ's Hospital,⁶ Mincing-lane,⁷ and Tower-hill,⁸ constitute the chief remains that are left to bear witness, that the *Londinium* of the Cæsars was adorned with stone edifices,

¹ Archæologia, xxiv, 300.⁴ Journal, ix, 161.⁷ Journ., vi, 442.² Journal, iii, 247.⁵ Horsley's *Brit. Rom.*⁸ *Ib.*, viii, 240.³ *Ib.*, v, 90.⁶ Archæologia, xxvii, 410.

that the gods of Olympus were here wrought of marble and worshiped in its holy fanes; and that memorials of stone were here raised in honour of its peaceful and warlike denizens."

Mr. Temple, chief justice of Honduras, laid before the Association a large collection of fragmentary antiquities, obtained from tumuli in Central America. They represented a variety of monsters devouring human beings; heads evidently drawn in caricature, portions of limbs furnished with bangles, anklets, etc. Many of the figures appear to have been attached to buildings, being without backs, and resembling corbels. There were, likewise, some arrow and spear-heads in silex, and a large, apparently, collar or torque of the same substance. Mr. Temple promised to furnish the Society with some remarks upon these singular antiquities for a future *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 25.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Robert Temple, esq., chief justice of Honduras, 25, Bernard-street, Russell-square, and

John E. Richard, Esq., West Hill, Wandsworth, were elected associates.

Christopher Pemberton Hodgson, Esq., vice-consul at Caen, was elected a corresponding member.

Thanks were given to George Vere Irving, esq., for the present of a parliamentary paper, relating to the publication of chronicles and ancient histories of England.

The Rev. Beale Poste exhibited some stone implements, spear heads, etc., belonging to the pre-metallic period of Britain. They are formed from Kentish limestone, but their yellow coating and tinge are derived from lapse of time; as is customary when this sort of limestone, or rag-stone, has been cut or broken anciently. These implements were all found together in grubbing up an apple tree, at Mr. Poste's residence, Bydews-place, 30th October, 1850.

He likewise exhibited a seaxe, or Anglo-Saxon knife or dagger. This is one of the *cultri validi*, or stout blades, spoken of by ancient historians and chroniclers, as used by the Saxons. There are several patterns of them, and this is not a very usual one; but several, nearly exactly similar, have been found at Ozingell, in the Isle of Thanet. This specimen was dug up in the presence of Mr. Poste, in April, 1842, on Barham Downs.

No. 3.—A funeral banner, found in the year 1840, in a room over the vestry, in Maidstone church, which had been formerly used as a library, for a collection of books belonging to the parish; but which, on the

books being removed, had been closed up, as long ago as about the year 1765. The apartment has since been heightened, and made a receptacle for the organ, in the year 1851; but the banner was found with another exactly similar, on occasion of entering this chamber, in 1840, when a new chimney was built for the vestry-room underneath. It represents a cinquefoil ermine, charged with an escutcheon of pretence; *argent*, two wolves' heads to the left erased, *or*, langued *gules*. Mr. Planché has ascertained that the arms on the escutcheon of pretence are those of the family of Stydolf, of Kent, who, by references favoured by our associate, Mr. Pretty, it appears, were formerly the possessors of Stydolf's-place, in Seal, now the seat of the Marquis of Camden, and called the Wilderness. The cinquefoil ermine is the bearing of the Astley family, of the Palace Maidstone, and Melton Constable, Norfolk, who bore that device on a shield, *azure*, within a bordure engrailed, *or*. No other portion, however, of the Astley coat-of-arms, was found with either banner; but only the cinquefoil charged as above.

Mr. Poste also exhibited a taper stand, or sconce, from Maidstone church, used in the middle ages, in placing lights before pictures or images, or in lighting up the church for night funerals, or for other purposes. It was dug up in the nave of Maidstone church, during the time that alterations were made in the interior of the church, in the year 1845.

Another exhibition by Mr. Poste, consisted of a Persian sword, of the date of about A.D. 1,000. It was captured from the Persians, in their wars with Russia, before the year 1811. Subsequent to which, having a new hilt put to it, on which is the Christian cross, it was used as a dress sword by a Russian officer; and after this, it came into the hands of vice-admiral Hamilton of the imperial Russian navy, by whom it was given to the exhibitor. It has an inscription on it in Cufic characters, in gold, inlaid in the metal itself, on one side of the blade; and an emerald is inserted in the centre of one part of it, which is circularly arranged.

Mr. Poste also intrusted to the chairman, an antique intaglio, representing a rabbit issuing from a *cornucopia*, and bayed at by a small dog. Mr. Pettigrew regarded this gem as a beautiful emblematic representation of fertility; the rabbit being so remarkable for its fecundity. He stated, on the authority of Professor Owen, that this animal brought forth six times in the year, and produced eight at a litter, which a healthy doe was capable also of sustaining. Mr. Black remarked, that the gem not only exhibited fecundity, but also, by the representation of a dog, its enemy, the emblem of destruction. The workmanship is very fine. Mr. Poste purchased it of a dealer.

Mr. Gunston placed before the meeting two fine and perfect examples of the Irish *tuagh-catha*, or war-axe, of yellow bronze. The largest is seven inches long, and five and a-half inches across the edge; the

smaller, five and three-quarters inches long, and two inches seven-eighths across the edge. The latter specimen is thickly engraved with little chevrons; it was found in Galway.

Mr. Curle exhibited a very fine and curious beheading sword, obtained a few years since in Ireland. The blade is two feet six inches long, and three and a-quarter inches wide, sharp at both edges, and ending in an obtuse point. The hilt is of wood decorated with silver studs; the cross-yard, of steel, terminating with ammonite heads beautifully chiseled. The general appearance of this formidable weapon, would incline us to refer it to the close of the fifteenth century; but in the Meyrick collection is a Venetian sabre, of about the middle of the sixteenth century, the cross of which terminates with similar horned heads. A German executioner's sword, having on it the date 1674, is engraved in Skelton's *Meyrick*, pl. lxvi., fig. 6.

Mr. G. R. Corner directed attention to the discoveries lately made in Buckingham-square, New Kent-road, whilst preparing for the foundation of the church of the Pilgrim Fathers, and exhibited coins and other articles there met with. Of Roman terra cotta, may be mentioned, the lower part of an *olla* of thin, but well-baked, reddish-brown earth, and the bottom of a Samian-ware *patera*, with the potter's stamp across the centre—OF AQTITANI, a name of frequent occurrence on the red ware exhumed in London. The coins belong to various eras; one is a third brass of Constantinople; *obv.*, helmeted-head to the left—CONSTANTINOPOLIS; *rev.*, figure of Victory. *Exergue*, TRS—*Treveris (officina) secunda*. There are several Nuremberg jettons of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and two tradesmen's tokens of the seventeenth century, viz., *obv.* RICHARD CORNISH, in the field a castle; *rev.* AT HOLBORN BRIDG, in the field, R.M.C.; and *ob.* FRANCIS O..ER IN SHARPES, in the field, HIS HALFE PENY, *rev.* ALLEY NEARE COW CROS, 1667; in the field, a shield charged with three stags. This token does not occur in the Beaufoy collection.

Mr. Forman exhibited a fine example of Roman bulla in gold, from the late Mr. Rogers' collection, and Mr. Cuming read the following observations on these antiquities:—

“There are few objects of personal adornment more frequently alluded to by classic writers, or oftener represented on the tombs and statues of Roman children, than the far-famed *bulla*, an ornament reputed to be of Etruscan invention, and hence called *aurum Etruscum*, by Juvenal (v, 164); and one which is seen on the breast of the bronze statuette found at Tarquinii, and supposed to be intended for the mysterious boy-god, Tages, who sprung from the furrows of that site. At what time it was adopted by the Romans, is a matter of much uncertainty. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, l. 23, c. i), says that Romulus bestowed a golden bull upon Hostius Hostilius, the first offspring of the Sabine rape; but according to

Macrobius (*Sat.* i, 6), it was introduced to Rome by Tullus Hostilius, its third king, who flourished in the seventh century before the Christian era; and that it (with the *toga prætexta* with its broad purple hem, also of Etruscan invention), was first given to the son of Tarquinius Priscus, in reward of his having killed an enemy in the Sabine war, though only fourteen years of age. From this time it may be regarded as the badge of the *impubes*, who wore both the *bulla* and *prætexta*, until they reached the period of puberty, when they were laid aside and dedicated to the household *lares*, or presented as pious offerings to some temple. The *toga virilis*, or *pura*, as it was also designated, was then assumed as the garb of manhood, the festival of the *Liberalia*, celebrated on the 16th of March, being generally chosen for its assumption.

"There were two kinds of *bullæ*; one called *aurea*, or golden, the other, *scortea*, or leathern; the former being assigned to the offspring of Patrician families; the latter, to the children of the *libertini*, or freedmen, and of the lower classes. They were both of much the same general form, consisting of two hollow convex pieces held together by a rather broad lap of the same material as the rest, and through which passed a cord for suspending the *bulla* round the neck of the *impubes*. The *bulla*, whether of gold or leather, was, in fact, a *theca*, or case, for an amulet against the attack of evil spirits, etc., and may be compared, in some degree, with the pectoral reliquaries of later days. La Chausse (*Le Grand Cabinet Romain*, page 102), has engraved a golden *bulla*, on the lap of which is punched the name CATVLVS. A *bulla*, with a richly decorated lap, was discovered at Roma Vecchia, and is represented by Ficorini in his *Bolla d'Oro*, page 8;¹ and a remarkably fine and early example of the *bulla aurea* is preserved in the British Museum. But, perhaps, the most celebrated *bulla* in existence is the one formerly in the collection of the late Samuel Rogers, the poet, and now the property of Mr. W. H. Forman, who kindly lays it before the meeting for inspection. It was discovered in a sepulchral olla of red terra-cotta, mingled with ashes and burnt bones, by labourers in a vineyard, about twelve miles from Rome, on the Albano road, in the year 1794; and from that time until 1821, was in the possession of signor Antonio Bellotti; when it was purchased by its late owner. It is of fine gold, and on the lap are chased longitudinally the letters HOST. ROS., which are presumed to be an abbreviation of *Hostius Hostilius*, the name, be it remembered, of the Sabino-Roman child mentioned by Pliny. But whether this golden *bulla* rested on the breast of an infant in the days of Romulus, or on that of some other Hostius Hostilius, who lived in a

¹ This *bulla* was afterwards in the possession of Dr. Conyers Middleton, who gave a representation of it in his *Germana quædam Antiquitatis erudita Monumenta*, tab. iii, fig. 1. At Dr. Middleton's sale it was purchased by Horace Walpole, and remained at Strawberry Hill till 1842, and is now in the collection of lady Fellows.

later period, it is still an object of surpassing value and interest, and one which our associate may be justly proud of possessing."

Mr. G. R. Wright laid before the Association a drawing, in crayons, said to be a portrait of James lord Beauclerk, second son of Nell Gwyn by Charles II. In *The Story of Nell Gwyn*, by Mr. Peter Cunningham, he observes, "while *The Rehearsal* was drawing crowded houses,—indeed, in the same month in which it first appeared,—Nell Gwyn was delivered (25 December, 1671) of a second child by the king, called James in compliment to the duke of York"; and a small woodcut portrait of the child is subjoined to this statement, on comparing which with the crayon sketch now exhibited, no doubt can be entertained that they represent the same individual; for although there are one or two points of slight variation between them (the absence, for instance, of the ribband on the collar in the coat), yet there is an unmistakable evidence in the features, the head-dress, the whole character of the two portraits, which stamps them as having one common origin. From information derived from Mr. Colnaghi of Pall Mall East, Mr. Wright learnt that the source whence this woodcut is derived, is a print by *Abraham Blooteling*, an eminent engraver, born at Amsterdam, 1634, who came to reside in England soon after the troubles broke out between the French and the Dutch, in 1672; and in the course of two or three years residence in this country produced a great number of etchings and other works, and, amongst others, the engraving from which the head now exhibited is believed to have been taken.

The print of Blooteling is after a painting by Rubens; but as that painter died in 1640 (thirty-one years before the birth of Nell Gwyn's second son), there is a complete destruction of the assumption that the crayon sketch, or the woodcut, in Cunningham's *Nell Gwyn* are portraits of the child known as James lord Beauclerk, and who, we are told, died in Paris at the early age of nine years. (September 1680.)

In connexion with this subject, and to shew how cautious antiquaries ought to be in the reception of stories they cannot entirely sift to the bottom, and how essential it is that authors as well as editors should not take for granted all that they hear, or perhaps even fancy, upon certain points, which, as in this instance, may lead to historical confusion, Mr. Colnaghi informed Mr. Wright that the whole story of this print of Blooteling representing the child of Nell Gwyn by Charles II is a fabrication. The want of portraits being felt by printsellers, they have often not hesitated, when there was an air of probability in favour of some old engraving in their hands, to vend it, and to name it as suited their convenience best; and this scarce although well-known engraving of Blooteling has for many years passed as the portrait of James lord Beauclerk. Examination of the drawing, which, by the gentleman who possesses it, was esteemed to be the work of Rubens, led to the discovery of the date

of 1742 in the paper-mark; and in the opinion of Mr. Colnaghi the drawing is the work of Prince Hoare of Bath. The known attachment of this gentleman to dramatic history and literature, and his own success in this pursuit, render the suggestion most probable.

Mr. Syer Cuming laid before the Association some articles of attire, of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, belonging to various members. They were brought together on account of their rarity and beauty, though they may not merit much notice on the score of their antiquity. The earliest is a *placcard* or *placcate*, of about the middle of the sixteenth century, traditionally said to have belonged to queen Elizabeth, and to have been brought from the old palace of Richmond, where she was for some time a prisoner during the reign of her sister Mary. It was for many years in the possession of a family residing in Hampton Court, the members of which had always been taught to regard it as part of Elizabeth's wardrobe. It is fourteen inches and a half long, and composed of stout speckled silk of two shades, of greyish brown, lined with white Holland, and well stiffened with cane or whalebone. The lower part is cut into eleven narrow tabs, the five centre ones being overlaid with rich silver gimp, which is carried up the middle of the placard, and branches laterally from the base to the sides at the top. The junction of the silk tabs with the rest of the article was concealed by a girdle which passed beneath the centre, and which, together with the silken ferret at the sides, served to secure it to the person. From the form and comparative shortness of this piece of dress, it must have been worn in Mary's time, or at the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, with a sort of doublet which it was then the fashion to fasten at the chest, the front being left open so that the placard and petticoat might be exposed to view.

The placard or placcate, Mr. Cuming observed, derived its name from its resemblance to the separate pieces of armour called placard and demi-placard, which were attached to the breastplate with screws, and which came into fashion in the fifteenth century. From the close of the fifteenth, and during the sixteenth century, the placard, as a part of civil costume, was common to both sexes. It was the precursor of the stomacher, which, gradually increasing in length, was in its greatest glory about the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, and continued to be used until near the close of the last century.

The next specimen of costume was a child's jacket, of about the middle of the reign of Charles I, exhibited by Mr. T. Wills. It is of fine white linen, every part embroidered with pansy flowers and leaves, the outlines being formed of gold twist, the filling in with light blue silk, the intermediate spaces being thickly powdered with little silver spangles; the whole producing a rich, delicate, and good effect. This jacket has long sleeves, is without collar, but made to fit close round the neck; fastens

down the front with silver hooks and eyes, and, from its shortness, can have scarcely reached the hips. No satisfactory history of it can now be given. It is known to have been long treasured up at Fordingbridge in Hampshire; and there are circumstances connected with it which suggest and support the idea that it is part of the wardrobe of either the prince of Wales or duke of York, the sons of Charles I. Its pedigree is, however, broken, and no means are left to decide the point. That it did belong to some youth of exalted rank will scarcely admit of doubt, and there is nothing improbable in the notion that it is in truth a relic of the fallen house of Stuart.

From this princely jacket Mr. Cuming passed on to a lady's habit of more ample proportions,—a wedding-dress of the reign of George II, exhibited by Mr. G. R. Corner. This beautiful gown is cut low in the neck, the back formed in plaits, the sleeves reaching the elbows, and having broad upturned cuffs. It is open down the front, so as to expose the stomacher, and an inner breadth, of the same material as the dress, which was fastened on the person in manner of an apron, but so as the broad folds of the skirt covered its sides, falling in graceful robes. The whole is composed of the most gorgeous silk brocade, representing large flowers and rose-buds of various hues, with white and green leaves on a black field, the combined effect of which is good. The pattern is so rich, bold, and massive, and much of the white silk of such a silvery lustre, that the fabric may be likened to the costly *samite* and *cloth of baudekyn* so famed in ancient song and romance; and, taking the dress as a whole, it may be looked upon as an almost matchless example of the wedding-garb of a lady of rank of about the year 1740. Mr. Corner also exhibited a hair-pin and pair of round convex-fronted ear-rings, composed of small beads of mother-of-pearl sewed on frames of gilt brass. They are interesting female ornaments, of about the same age as the dress.

Mr. Cuming also exhibited the under-vest of the old English gentleman of the eighteenth century,—that of a wealthy Shropshire squire of the reign of George I. The waistcoat is of the stiff, straight, square cut which came in with queen Anne, and continued, with certain modifications, to be worn to near the middle of the reign of George III. It is made of rich brown armazine, backed with twilled stuff, and lined with stout India cotton. It fastens down the front with twelve brown mohair buttons; the pockets are covered with wide scalloped flaps of moderate depth, which, as well as the skirts, are lined with fine white camlet. There is a substantial sobriety about this country squire's waistcoat which contrasts strongly with another exhibited by Dr. Iliff, referrible to the end of the reign of George II. It is formed of delicate salmon-coloured silk with narrow figured stripes, and embroidered with little green sprigs. The borders of the fronts and bottom of the waistcoat,

the scalloped flaps of the pockets, as well as the part beneath them, are worked with small pink flowers and green and silver leaves within zig-zag edges of silver thread. It has eleven buttons down the front, covered with silk similar to that of the waistcoat, each button being decorated with little green sprigs. It is backed and lined with white sarcenet, and everything combines to impress the mind with the notion that its owner must have been a complete beau; yet its owner was a member of the medical profession, a Dr. Bolaine, who lived and died at Canterbury about the middle of last century, whose portrait was also exhibited. He is represented in a full-bottomed tie-wig, long laced cravat, scarlet coat; the broad cuff secured to the sleeve with gilt buttons, ruffled wrist, and figured, salmon-coloured waistcoat open so as to expose the shirt, and with a cocked hat tucked beneath the left arm.

The last illustration consisted of the body of a young lady's ball dress of the year 1785. The front and whaleboned back are cut in long peaks, narrow sleeves reach the elbows, and the diameter of the waist and breast seem to be out of all proportion, the former measuring twenty-one inches, the latter upwards of thirty-six inches: a disproportion arising from the fact of the body being contrived for the admission of a *buffont*, a piece of dress composed of gauze, or fine linen, which was worn over the neck and breast, strutting out like the front of a pouting pigeon. But it is not so much the fashion as the material of this body which is of interest. It is of delicate white taffeta, lined with pink lutestring, which imparts an agreeable blush to the taffeta, which is decorated with flowers, buds, leaves, and tendrils, not woven, embroidered, nor printed, but *painted by hand* in various hues of body colour. This is the only European example of this kind of ornamentation Mr. Cuming remembered to have seen. The process is, however, still in vogue among the islanders of the South Seas, and the antiquity of it is traceable to a most remote era, for it is recorded by Herodotus (i, 203) that some nations of the Caucasus painted figures of animals on their garments with colours obtained from the leaves of trees, which could not be washed out. So that Middleton's words are not mere fancy, when he says:

"Fashions that are now called new
Have been worn by more than you:
Elder times have used the same,
Though these new ones get the name."¹

Mr. Pettigrew read a report on excavations made at Caerwent, the Venta Silurum of the Romans. (See pp. 77-80 *ante*.)

Mr. W. H. Black made a brief report of his examination of the municipal records of Wells, and promised a written statement for insertion in the *Journal*.

Mr. Forman made two fine exhibitions, one of a Chinese coverlet, the

¹ Mayor of Quinborough.

other a specimen of Gobelin tapestry. Of the former, Mr. Syer Cuming read the following notice :

"The exhibition of the splendid piece of needlework now before us induces me to offer a few notes, which I have hastily strung together, on the article variously termed a coverlet, counterpane, and quilt, the use of which is traceable to a very remote era. The skins of sheep and other animals constituted the earliest bed-coverings, and continued to be used for such purposes among all ranks throughout a long series of ages. Still we find that textile fabrics were also employed at an ancient period. Among the Greeks the common designation for the coverlet was *στρωματα*; but several other names were also given to bed-coverings. We learn from divers sources that it was frequently composed of the richest stuffs adorned with broidery, and that the products of Miletus, Corinth, and Carthage, were in most esteem.¹ What has been stated with regard to the Grecian *στρωματα* is equally applicable to the *operimentum* or *operatorium* of the wealthy Romans. But the poorer classes had a coarse kind of coverlet called *intragulum*, answering, in all probability, to the cheap "rugs" of our own day.² It may be remarked that the word *pallium* is sometimes used by the Latin writers for the coverlet,³ just as the Celtæ used the word *pall* or *pallen* alike for the mantle and the bed-cover.

"In the *King of Tars*, a romance of the early part of the fourteenth century, we are told,

"The ladi lay in hire bed
With riche clothes bespred
Of gold and purple palle."

In another poem we find the following :

"Thence pass'd into a bow'r, where stood a bed
With *milkwite furs* of Alexandria spread;
Beneath, a richly broider'd vallañce hung;
The pillows were of silk: o'er all was flung
A rare wrought coverlet of *phoenix* plumes,
Which breathed, as warm with life, its rich perfumes."

And it is certain that, during the middle ages, the coverlyght, coverlyte, or coverlet, was composed of the most costly materials, at times consisting entirely of valuable skins, or of stuff trimmed with minever and other rich furs, and even of cloth of gold, though the ordinary sorts among the great were of embroidered silk, resembling, in style of decoration, the tapestry hangings of the period. Hence, says Spenser :

"Lay her in lilies and in violets,
And silken curtains over her display,
And odour'd sheets and arras coverlets."

¹ Aristoph., *Ran.*, 410, 542; *Lysistr.*, 732; Cic., c. *Verr.*, i. 34; Athen., i, pp. 27, 28.

² Cato, R. R., x, 5; xi, 5.

³ Juv. vi, 236.

⁴ Partenopex of Blois.

"When the coverlet was wrought of pieces of silk, or of cloth of different colours so arranged as to produce a marked contrast, it was designated a *counterpane* or *counterpoint*, under which latter title it is alluded to by Gremio in the *Taming of the Shrew* (act ii, sc. 1):

"In ivory coffers I have stuff'd my crowns;
In cypress chests my arras, *counterpoints*,
Costly apparel, tents, and canopies."

The modern *patchwork* is, in fact, the representative of the ancient *counterpoint*; but the printed stuffs and gay chintz, however neatly joined together, cannot be compared to the splendid products of old, which were indeed rich and costly affairs:

"On the rich *quilt* sinks with becoming woe,
Wrapt in a gown for sickness and for show."¹

"The *quilt* differed from the *counterpoint* in being formed of an upper and under piece of silk, or other material, with a thin stratum of some soft, warm substance between them, the whole-being sewed, stitched, or quilted through, in a trellis pattern, or in fanciful devices. The opposite surfaces of the quilt were frequently of different colours, so that either side might be exposed to view at pleasure, and over it was at times thrown a super-cover of valuable point-lace.

"But few ancient coverlets have escaped destruction. The three hundred and thirty-seventh lot of the thirteenth day's sale of Fonthill abbey consisted of 'a rich purple silk quilt beautifully worked in gold', which was stated to have belonged to Henry VII. And the one which covered the bed in which Charles I slept the night before his decollation is still preserved at Orchardleigh, near Frome, Somersetshire. It is of rich blue satin, with a deep border wrought in gold and silver.² The Indian coverlet now brought to our notice by Mr. Forman may vie, for splendour of colours and richness of design, with any specimen of which we find record. It was lately sold at the rooms of Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson, in whose catalogue it is described as 'richly embroidered in gold and colours most beautifully blended, adorned with birds, flowers, animals, and ornaments, finely interlaced and worked in coloured silks, 9 ft. 9 ins. long, 6 ft. 5 ins. wide.' The catalogue further states that, 'it is affirmed that this beautiful example was presented by king James II to his daughter, who was married to William III.' Whether we regard this coverlet as a royal relic, or simply as a rare example of needlework, it cannot fail of exciting interest in every beholder; for it is, beyond doubt, one of the most splendid items of domestic furniture which has ever been laid before us, and seems to verify the words of old John Taylor, the Water Poet, that—

¹ Rape of the Lock, iv, 35.

² See *Journal* for September 1855, vol. xi, p. 230.

"Flowers, plants, and fishes, beasts, birds, flies, and bees,
Hills, dales, plaines, pastures, skies, seas, rivers, trees;
There's nothing neere at hand, or farthest sought,
But with the needle may be shap'd and wrought."

The other exhibition made by Mr. Forman, consisted of a magnificent example of *gobelin tapestry*, of the time of Charles II; measuring eighteen feet eight inches in length, by ten feet eight inches high. The subject is taken from the ninth chapter of the *History of Don Quixote*, exhibiting the inn shaded by stately trees, and beyond, a rich and extended prospect of fields, water and mountains. The moment chosen for representation, is just before the procession moves off from the "enchanted castle." The "knight of the woful figure," appears in a wooden cage placed on a cart, to which oxen are yoked; and before which rides Sancho Panza on his ass, leading Rozinante, on whose back is laid the don's shield, and by whose side is suspended Mambrino's helmet. The weeping Dorothea gazes kindly upon the incarcerated champion, and every one seems to play their appointed parts. There are in all, twenty-four figures and demi-figures of various sizes, besides the horses and other animals; the whole are admirably posed, forming most beautiful and life-like groups. The effect produced is that of a masterly and highly finished picture in distemper, in a rather narrow frame. It is stated to have formerly belonged to an illustrious duke of a Venetian family, and must be regarded as a most interesting example of its class.

Mr. Black read a paper, "On the Successive Statutes of the Order of the Garter, and their various Texts and Versions." He stated, that the statutes of the founder, Edward III, existed in three distinct Latin texts; were succeeded by those of Henry V, in French; which, with some variation and addition under Edward IV, or Henry VII, continued to the reign of Henry VIII, who, in 1522, established a new body of statutes. These last are recorded in Latin, in the *Black Book* of the order, which was thought by Ashmole to contain their original text; but Anstis doubted, whether they were not published in a different language. Indeed, they have always, from the reign of Henry VIII to the present time, been given forth to the knights of the order, in English. Mr. Black pointed out, from the error of date in the English copies, which give the *eighth* year in the stead of the *fourteenth* of Henry's reign, as equivalent to 1522, that the English text is not the original; and proved, by internal evidence of phraseology and of senseless mistakes, that both the English and the Latin texts of these statutes must have had a *French* original. This French text is extant in the Public Record Office, in a volume inscribed with the king's own hand. He then described the various draughts and other evidences existing in different depositories, by which the compilation of Henry's English statutes is distinctly traceable to the French text of his predecessors; and concluded by expressing

his opinion, that the *first statutes* of the order were likewise published in French, the court language of Edward III's time, and not in Latin; and recommended farther searches for that original French text, which thirty years' researches had not yet enabled him to discover; yet which, if found, might easily be distinguished from those of Henry V and his successors, by the absence of their interpolations and additions, as well as by agreement with the Latin copies.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

APRIL 8, 1857.

JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

For account of the proceedings, see pp. 155-164 *ante*.

APRIL 22.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following were elected associates:

Henry Holt, esq., 1, Thurloe-place, Brompton.

W. E. Allen, esq., Greenford, near Hanwell.

Charles Richardson, esq., Warwick House, Shepherd's Bush.

William George Carter, esq., F.S.A., 6, Raymond's Buildings.

Henry Wotton, esq., Cavendish-square.

Thanks were directed to be given for the following presents:

To the Author. The Abbey of St. Alban. By the Rev. Dr. Nicholson. Lond., 1856. 8vo.

„ Tradesmen's Tokens of the Seventeenth Century. Andover, in the County of Southampton. By S. Shaw, esq. 1857. 8vo.

„ On an Unrecorded Contract for the Marriage of Isabella, eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, with Ferdinand, Prince of Capua, May 21, 1476. (From the *Archæologia*. 1857. 4to.) By T. J. Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A.

To the Publisher. Gentleman's Magazine, for April, 1857. 8vo.

The treasurer read notices of the deceased members of the Association, during the year 1856. (See pp. 161, *ante*.)

Mr. Durden exhibited the drawing of a bronze spear head, which, together with others of a similar nature, will be arranged and described in a future *Journal*.

Mr. G. R. Corner laid before the meeting an example of *fausse montre*, a bauble, which Mr. Syer Cuming (See *Journal*, vol. xi, pp. 255-260, for 1856), stated to have been formerly worn by ladies, and dangled on the right side as a counterpart to the real watch, which adorned the left. The employment of this senseless object, he observed, commenced about the year 1770, and soon became so fashionable that all sorts of materials were used in its manufacture, with a view of catering for all tastes, as

well as all pockets. Whilst the *fausse montre* of gold and precious stones, sparkled at the waist of the fair patrician, ladies of less ample means, or with less aspiring notions, contented themselves with one composed of gilt metal, coloured foils, brocaded cloth of gold, of silk embroidered with beads and spangles, or of a fabric woven of fine gold and silver thread and silk, to which class the specimen of Mr. Corner belonged. One side of the *fausse montre* is of the silver, the other of the golden-coloured fabric, and as both sides are of the same convex form, either might be worn outwards. It is one inch seven-eighths diameter, and one inch one-eighth thick; and round the edge is sewed a chain made of the same materials as the rest, which is elongated into a loop at the top, and by which the ornament could be suspended from the girdle. When resting on the person of a well-dressed lady, this pseudo-timekeeper can scarcely have been distinguishable from the true watch.

Mr. Thomas Wills exhibited the remains of a chain forming a collar of S's, upon which Mr. Cuming made the following observations:—

“One of the earliest notices of the livery collar of S's, occurs in the wardrobe account of Henry, earl of Derby, afterwards king Henry IV, made in the fifteenth year of the reign of Richard II, 1391-2, where one item is a golden collar of his livery, composed of seventeen letters S, wrought in fashion of feathers, with scrolls and mottoes on them (“*pro i coler auri fact. pro domino Henrico Lancastrie, comite Derb. cum. xvij literis de S, ad modum plumarum, cum rotulis et scripturis in eisdem, cum signo in toreto ejusdem.*”) And the first representation of the collar is probably the one surrounding the arms of king Henry's father, John of Ghent, duke of Lancaster, formerly in the window of old St. Paul's, London.¹ The collar there shown, as well as those on the monumental effigies of Joan of Navarre, queen of Henry IV, in Canterbury Cathedral, of the poet Gower, in St. Saviour's Church, Southwark, and other adherents of the Lancastrian party; not forgetting that most remarkable instance on the corbel-head of the arch in Southwell Minster, Nottinghamshire, first pointed out by Mr. Planché;² evidently consist of a band of leather, cloth, or velvet, on which the letters are embroidered in gold or silver thread, or stamped out of metal, and affixed to the band either by studs or sewing. The collar before us, unlike those just referred to, is in fact a chain, composed of thirty-eight S's, of cast brass; each letter being a full inch in height, with floral centres, having on each side at top and bottom a ring, through which pass circular links of copper wire, by which the whole are held together, and may, therefore, in form and construction, be compared to the collars

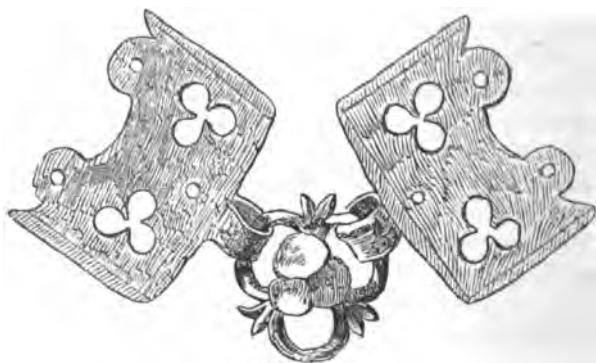
¹ A representation of this window is preserved in the collection of Nicholas Charles, Lancaster herald, MS. Lansd., 874.

² See *Journal*, viii, 307. A collar of S's may also be seen in the effigy of sir John Cockayne, in Ashburne church, Derbyshire, temp. Henry VI, given in the *Journal*, vii, 379.

of S's seen in the portraits of sir Thomas More, and others of the reign of Henry VIII. This collar is incomplete; but from its length, thirty-seven inches, it can have lost little more than the links employed in uniting its ends. The workmanship and general aspect forbid our assigning it to an earlier period than the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and it may be even still later; but the mode of decorating the letters, agrees so closely with that in fashion during the reign of James I, that we are, perhaps, justified in referring it to his time. Nothing of its history is known beyond the bare statement, that it was discovered some years back in Holyrood Palace, which, even if true, is of little aid in our inquiry.

"Chains composed of S's, combined with other figures, are said to have been worn by religious orders on the continent; as, for example, the collar of the knights of Cyprus, founded by the family of Lusignan, and that of the Society of St. Simplicius. Both these collars are engraved and described by Mennens and Favyn, but they bear but faint resemblance to the one under consideration; it must, however, be observed, that no faith can be put in either representation or description, given by these most fanciful authors, whose fertile imagination never left them at a loss for form and figure, of anything they required for their heraldic romances.¹ Mr. Wills' collar may, nevertheless, be of foreign fabric, though I am inclined to regard it as of English manufacture, whatever its age and purport may be.

"The present seems a fitting opportunity for introducing to your notice what, there is reason to think, are the metal ends and junction-link of a collar of S's of the time of Henry IV, found in the Thames



in February 1848. The whole is of iron; once, probably, silvered or gilded. The ends are about one inch three-eighths wide; each is pierced

¹ *Deliciæ Equestrum, sive Militarum Ordinum.* By Franc. Mennens, Colon. Agripp., 1613, 12mo. *Le Théâtre à Honneur et de Chevalerie, ou Histoire des Ordres Militaires.* Par Andre Favyn: Paris, 1620, 4to.

with two trefoils, and were attached to the strap by three little rivets. The junction-link is a trefoil with two points between each lobe, and having an acute boss projecting from its centre. The hooks springing from the edges of the flat square ends, clip the upper circlets of the trefoil-link; and to the lower circlet was, probably, appended the *tourette*, or *torret*, a revolving ring; within which, on the monument of John Gower, is placed the figure of a swan. But how, it may be asked, can this object be identified with the livery collar of S's? The reply is brief, if not convincing, and may be divided into three parts. First, it is well adapted for the purpose of holding together the ends of a collar; secondly, it bears a general, nay, a close resemblance to the metallic mountings of the collars seen on monumental effigies of the commencement of the fifteenth century; as for instance, on that of Joan of Navarre, already referred to; and, lastly, and what appears most important of all, it was discovered in company with a letter S, of stamped latten, which had been attached to a leathern band. If these several facts are not conclusive, they offer, at least, strong presumptive evidence in favour of its supposed connexion with the far-famed Lancastrian insignia; and, if it really be what I fancy, it is in all probability the only remains of a livery collar of S's, of the reign of Henry IV, which has yet been brought to light.¹

Mr. W. H. Forman laid before the meeting a fine collection of *Hiberno-Celtic* relics of gold, consisting of a torques [torch], ring-money, etc. The torch, and three of the pieces of ring-money, were found together in a cairn, at Ballykelty, near Newmarket-on-Fergus, county Clare, in March 1854. The torques is of a hollow convex form, broad in the centre, and decreasing to the ends, which are flat-topped bosses. It weighs three ounces ten pennyweights. This specimen, if not unique, is of the highest rarity in the Britannic islands. Hollow torques have been exhumed in the North of Europe, and are alluded to by Worsaae, in *The Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, page 34. "They wore round the neck rings, which were frequently hollow; doubtless, for the purpose of being filled with a soft substance, so as both to lessen their weight and pressure, and, at the same time, to give them a more splendid appearance, and spare the metal." Two of the examples of ring-money from Ballykelty, have flat ends like those of the torques, and weigh, respectively, fourteen pennyweights five grains, and five pennyweights sixteen grains. The third is formed of a triangular bar, the inner surface being flat; it weighs one ounce six pennyweights, and is a type of great rarity.

Mr. Forman also produced a piece of fine gold wire, twisted and bent round in the shape of the ring-money, and which is much like a specimen

¹ In the catalogue of Mr. Roach Smith's collection, p. 143, is engraved an exceedingly curious Lancastrian badge, of lead, representing a shield surrounded by a collar of S's.

formerly in the collection of the late T. Crofton Croker, esq. Also a small example of ring-money of exquisite finish, discovered in the county Kildare. It is of stout fabric, curiously ribbed, with bands of cross hatchings, immediately beneath the flat ends.¹

The remainder of the evening was occupied in the reading of Mr. Vernon Arnold's paper, "On the Collegiate Church of Edington, Wilts;" and by an examination of various drawings and plans, in relation to this interesting building. As the whole is about to be published, we forbear any analysis of the paper, but refer our readers to the publication, which will shortly appear.²

MAY 13.

JOHN LEE, L.L.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected :—

The earl of Scarborough, Lumley Castle, Chester-le-street.

Rev. R. H. Poole, Benton Parsonage, Leeds.

Mrs. Bellamy, Abergavenny.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

From the Royal Society. Their Proceedings. No. 25. 8vo.

„ *Publisher.* The Gentleman's Magazine, for May. 8vo.

Mr. W. Calder Marshall, R.A., exhibited an impression of a remarkably fine Celtic gold coin, found a short time since at Erith, in Kent; the original being in the possession of Mr. Flaxman Spurrell, of Bexley Heath. It closely resembles the Northfleet coin, engraved in the *Journal* (v, pl. i, fig. 1); *obv.*, the so-called head of Apollo Belinus, to the left; *rev.*, the horse and charioteer; beneath the belly of the horse is a rose, or sexfoil ornament. Weight, one hundred and sixteen grains.

Mr. C. Ainslie produced two gold coins, discovered about four years back, at Chinkford, in Essex. The earliest, much like the above, from Erith; but, instead of a sex-foil, there is a bull's head, beneath the horse. The other coin is the well-known type of Cunobeline; *obv.*, horse galloping to the right, above, a bough (?), beneath, CVN; *rev.*, ear of corn, CAM. (See *Ruding*, pl. 4, fig. 7.)

Mr. Gibbs exhibited the centre of an oak mantle-tree, of the time of James, or Charles I. It measures three feet five inches in length, thirteen inches broad, and one and a-half inches thick; and on it, in the centre, are carved the royal arms surrounded by the garter, surmounted by the crown, and with the lion and unicorn for supporters. Towards each end is a semicircular-headed arch, beneath one of which stands a bearded man in a long doublet buttoned down the front; and beneath the other, a female in farthingale, with arms a-kimbo. Figures in such

¹ For remarks on Celtic ring-money, see *Journal*, x, 171.

² To be published by Bell and Daldy, Fleet-street. Subscribers' names may be sent to Mr. Arnold, 2, Duke-street, Adelphi.

situations are generally termed *Jack and Jill*, from the supposition that they represent the man and maid-servants. Analogous figures occur on the richly-wrought trammel exhibited by Mr. H. Syer Cuming, and described in the *Journal* (viii, 75).

Mr. C. Ainslie exhibited six remarkably fine and perfect keys of iron, discovered in the Thames, at Westminster, when excavating for the foundations of the new palace. The earliest key is of about the close of the thirteenth century. It is three inches three-eighths long; chiseled out of a stout plate; the bow, lozenge-formed; and the broad, flat stem having a wide slit down its centre, dividing into two parts; the web projecting from one, the other constituting a four-sided broach, full one and a-half inch long; which must have fitted a moveable pipe in the lock, made to revolve with the key, as it was turned in the wards. Three of the keys are of the fifteenth century; one having a beautiful quatre-foil bow, and with the dentated edge of the web deeply channeled to pass over a peg in the entrance of the key-hole, a contrivance as old as the fourteenth century, and one which continued to be occasionally adopted as late as the time of James or Charles I. The two other fifteenth century keys are of a very plain description. They have both strong projecting broaches, and have belonged to door-locks; the smaller measures seven inches, the larger eight and a-quarter inches in length; the latter is of massive fabric, with reni-formed bow, and remarkably stout stem. The remaining specimens are of the seventeenth century. The largest has a pipe, and the ordinary rim-formed bow of the period, the smaller has a broach, with a nearly round bow, a point rising within it from the top of the stem.

Mr. C. Ainslie also laid on the table a rapier, of the time of Charles I; the steel pommel and guard of which are richly decorated with three-quarter busts of a female, and Cupids. It was exhumed many years since, in Bloody-lane, about five miles from Louth, in Lincolnshire; a spot traditionally said to be the site of a rencontre between Cromwell and the Royalists, in or about the year 1643. It was objected, that this rapier could not be of the presumed period, on account of the guard being of *cast iron*; but it may be remarked, that Caylus (*Rec.* iii. 96) has engraved an Etruscan Hercules of *cast iron*, so that the art cannot be considered as of modern date.

Mr. Wills made the following communication on ancient keys:

"The widely-spread interest created by the publication of the *History of Keys*, in the twelfth volume of our *Journal* (pp. 117-129), induces me to bring before the notice of the Association, a series of Roman and mediæval keys which, for extent, variety, and importance, may fairly be classed with those hitherto produced. Among the Roman *claves* will be found some forms of rare occurrence, the peculiarities of which I shall endeavour to point out. The first is an iron key, in which the extremity

of the stem is recurved, the web projecting laterally from its end, and having four long teeth pointing towards the annular bow. It is somewhat difficult to comprehend how this key could have been employed; but it is thought, that it was for raising, or rather forcing back, moveable pegs, as in the wooden locks of Egypt. This specimen was found at Colchester, on the north side of the north bridge, June 6, 1843. The next key is of bronze, of small size, and would pass as companion to the one engraved in the last volume, pl. 13, fig. 5. It is in a high state of preservation, and was discovered many feet below the surface of the earth, near St. Swithin's church, Cannon-street, 1853. The three following keys, of iron, were evidently employed with locks similar in principle to those for which the keys figured in the *Journal* (iv, 156), were designed. They closely resemble modern latch-keys, and bring to mind an example in the Geneviève collection, engraved by Montfaucon (*Antiq.*, iii, page i, pl. lv.) The smaller key was found whilst digging a sewer at the corner of St. Martin's-lane, Cannon-street, in 1851; the larger one, at Colchester, on the site of the Union-house, in 1846; and the third, which is broken, was recovered from the Thames, off Dowgate, in 1856.

"No less singular in design is the one I now produce, which appears to be the key of a large cylindrical padlock, of like construction to those described in the *Journal* (xii, 118, 119). This key is of iron, with its parts brazed together, and consists of six septa; which, when thrust into the *sera*, compressed the springs, and so permitted the shackle to be withdrawn. This rare specimen was obtained from the Thames, near Dowgate-dock, close to the entrance of Cousin-lane, at the bottom of Dowgate-hill, 1831.

"Among other Roman keys may be noted two, with lozenge-shaped bows, like those in use in the fourteenth century. The smaller one, of iron, was found in 1855, at Charing-Cross, whilst repairing the foundation of the statue of Charles I; the larger one, of bronze, was dug up near St. Mary's church, Colchester, in 1849. I have also a fine bronze key, with an annular bow, discovered in digging the foundation of a house in Watling-street, at the corner of Bread-street, in 1852. Two others, of smaller size, resemble captain Tupper's Fairford specimen, engraved in the *Journal* (x, 113), one of them having been dug up in the keep of Rochester Castle, in 1848; the other, beneath the crypt of Gerard's Hall, in Distaff-lane, in 1850. And a key of brass, with reni-formed bow, closely resembling some of more recent date, to be hereafter mentioned. This specimen is very like one given in the *Journal* (xii, pl. 14, fig. 3), and was found at Lexden, on the north side of the Colne, near Colchester, Essex, in 1806.

"The next key in point of age, is of iron, of rude fabric, and evidently of the same period as the presumed Saxon keys, engraved in the *Journal*

(xii, pl. 14, fig. 4, and page 122). It has a piped-stem, surmounted by a flat-sided oval bow, and thin web, cut for a three-warded lock. This specimen was discovered near the Dane John, Canterbury, in 1810, a spot whence many relics of the Anglo-Saxon era have been brought to light. Of still ruder fabric, and, probably, little inferior in age, is the iron key next in order. The piped-stem has only a fragment of the web remaining to it, and the bow is an elongation of the stem, bent round in a large circle, the end being brought close to the stem, but unattached to it. This curious key was dug up in the crypt beneath St. Paul's, when preparing for the interment of the duke of Wellington, in 1852; and is possibly one of the keys of the old cathedral, and may be as early as the Norman era.

"From these ancient examples, we pass on to a key of the thirteenth, or, more probably, fourteenth century. It is of brass, the piped-stem surmounted by a lozenge-bow, having a sort of trefoil ornament at the points. The edge of the web is grooved to pass over a peg, or stop, in the entrance of the lock, and may, therefore, be compared with the one engraved in the *Journal* (xii, pl. 14, fig. 5). This key was found during some repairs at Somerset-house, in the Strand, in 1851.

"We now arrive at a period when the key-bows exhibit great variety in design, namely, the fifteenth century. I possess numerous examples of keys of this era, some of which are of much interest. The earliest has a bow somewhat of the lozenge-form, but perforated with a quatrefoil; the broached stem is very short, and the square web cut with eight long teeth, reminding us of a comb. It was dug up at Turnwheel-lane, the corner next Cannon-street, 1851; near the site of the ancient palace, called the *Erber*, to which it may, perchance, have once belonged. Of about the same antiquity as the above, is the key I now exhibit. It is an exceedingly elegant specimen, the bow being a quatrefoil, the annulets uniting in the centre in a little die. The stem is piped, and encircled by five trilinear bands, between which are cross lines. The edge of the web is, as usual at this period, deeply toothed. This key was recovered from the Thames, off Dowgate, in 1855.

"I also exhibit a fine large piped key of iron, with an ample annular bow, containing a quatrefoil, and surmounted by a flat square loop, by which it was suspended on a ring, or keeper. The edge of the web is channeled (we might almost say piped) to pass over the stop in the key-hole. The upper part of the key is a perfect duplicate of one figured in the *Gent. Mag.*, for March 1837, which belongs to the chest of Blickling church, Norfolk. It was discovered in taking down the houses in St. Paul's churchyard, at the commencement of Watling-street, in 1850.

"The next keys present very different fashioned bows from the other specimens. They are of a square form, with straight-topped pieces rising in the centre, somewhat approximating in form to one referred to

in a foot-note in the *Journal* (xii, page 124), as being figured in the *Gent. Mag.*, August 1786, page 632. These keys are piped, and were found in the Thames, at Dowgate.

"Of the remaining keys of the fifteenth century, it will be needless to trouble the Association with any lengthened remarks. They are all of iron, with either annular or somewhat reni-formed bows; and, with the exception of six with piped stems, are all broached keys, the kind most in use at this period. Five of the piped keys have belonged to padlocks.

"I beg now to call attention to four elegant keys of the time of Henry VII; the bows of which consist of two scrolls, wide at the base, and united above in a knob. They have all broached stems, and were found, respectively, in the Abbey churchyard, Bath, in 1848; on the site of the old part of St. Saviour's church, Southwark, in 1835; in the ruins of St. Botolph's priory, Colchester, in 1822, and in one of the vaults of Colchester castle, in the year 1821. The latter is the earliest of the four specimens, and must be referred to the commencement of Henry's reign. Keys of the same age, and of similar design, are described in the *Journal* (xii, 125).

"The next specimen brings us to the middle of the sixteenth century. It is of iron, with a perforated scroll-work bow engraved with leaves and birds' heads. It is said to have been found at Butley priory, Suffolk, in 1853, but has evidently never been inhumed. A small key discovered at Chertsey, Surrey, in repairing part of the Abbey wall, in 1847, and a much larger one found in Howard-street, Strand, at the corner of Norfolk-street, in 1852, offer good examples of the decorated bows of the close of Elizabeth's reign.

"The eight following specimens exhibit the fashion of key-bows in general use during the early part of the seventeenth century. They were all found either in London or Westminster, with the exception of the small brass key which was exhumed in the churchyard of St. Martin's, Canterbury, 1848; it bears some resemblance to the Roman key from Lexden.

"One of my latest specimens is an exceedingly elegant cabinet key of German fabric, of the time of William III. The piped stem is of iron, and the rich scroll-work bow of brass, which in design reminds us of some of the old-fashioned winch-keys of watches. It is stated to have been found in Brydges-street, Drury-lane, in 1851; but has, most assuredly, never been in the earth, for not a spot of rust, or discoloration of any kind, appears upon the metal. The last European key I shall allude to, is of a singular form. The web is Z-shaped, with a short stem; through the bulbed end of which passes a large ring, so that when the key was placed in the lock, the ring hung in front of the chest, having the appearance of a central handle. This specimen is placed

after the rest, on account of the uncertainty of its age. I suspect it is not near so old as it might at first be supposed, but refrain from any attempt to fix its date. It was found whilst rebuilding a house in St. Mary-Axe, on the north side of Leadenhall-street, near the church of St. Andrew Undershaft, 1848.

"As examples of Chinese keys, I also lay before the Association, two with their accompanying padlock; and a third specimen, of small size, in which the place of the bow is occupied by a flat oval plate. This little key is professed to have been found in a sewer in Aldermanbury, in 1855. All these Chinese articles are of fine brass."

Mr. Forman exhibited a very remarkable collection of gold and silver antiquities, some of which were Celtic, some obtained from Ireland, others in Gaul, and several were evidently Danish. They were referred to Mr. H. Syer Cuming for particular examination and description, as being of great interest; and he has since furnished the following report:

"The collection numbers seventeen specimens, and comprises examples of Etruscan, Celtic, Danish, and Eastern art. A pair of Etruscan bracelets of the purest gold, of elegant design and exquisite finish. They are made of cylindrical rods wrought about the ends with rings and acanthus leaves, and terminate in sex-lobed bosses. Bracelets much like to these have been discovered in some of the Greek islands. Of greater rarity and interest are seven silver articles stated to have been discovered in Gaul. Four of them are bracelets composed of spirals of wire, flat within, and convex externally, each spiral being thick in the middle and diminishing towards the ends, to one of which is a loop or eye, the other being provided with a link terminating in a hook, by which the two extremities are held together when round the arm. The link of the larger bracelet is like the flat cover of a round basket in form and construction. The next in size has a barrel-shaped link; the third is a long loop; and the smallest has a long-stemmed hook. In contrivance, the spiral bracelets may be compared with the long fusiform ornaments of bronze met with in the tombs of Etruria, and which are believed to have formed parts of necklaces,—at least Signor Campanari assured me that he had found them lying about the necks of female skeletons. Though of somewhat coarser fabric, the Etruscan spirals are formed on a precisely similar principle, and are composed of wire flat within and convex without; and gold and silver beads, of like design, have been exhumed from Teutonic barrows in this country and Scandinavia. Worsaae has engraved a necklace of these spiral beads, and pendants of Roman gold coins of the fifth and sixth centuries. A fifth bracelet, or rather armilla, is composed of three silver wires plaited together so as to produce a chain-like appearance, and terminates in fishes' heads, from the frontal of one of which projects the hook, from the other the eye. Perhaps the most extraordinary specimen among this group of Gallic relics is an

armilla composed of a coil of stout silver wire, seven feet one inch and a half in length. The ends are beaten flat, and each is stamped with six cordiformed leaves, said to represent those of the laurel, and terminate in a fox's head and neck. It measures five inches in diameter, and occupies about nine or ten inches when placed upon the arm. Armlets of bronze, of analogous design, but having the coils placed much closer together, have been met with in the tombs of Etruria and barrows of Scandinavia; but this is the only example of one formed of silver I remember to have seen. The last Gallic ornament to notice is a very large armilla, or, what appears far more probable, a torque (*torc*) formed of a twisted rod of silver, the ends held together by a hook and eye. This torque, like the rest of the Gallic antiquities, bears a close resemblance to articles met with in Scandinavia; and if they cannot claim a Teutonic origin, they are at least referrible to the same era as the silver ornaments obtained from the northern barrows,—namely, the ferric period.

“The silver ornaments discovered in the Britannic islands consist of five specimens reported to have been found in Ireland. They are examples of what are generally termed ring-money: that is, bracelets of a certain weight which were made to do duty for stamped coin. Two of the five specimens are alike, being formed of cylindric bars with conic terminations, the base of each cone spreading beyond the surface of the bar. A third bracelet is a round bar gradually tapering from the middle to the end, and having little balls at the extremities. The bar is decorated with five groups of transverse lines. The fourth specimen is a quadrangular bar, tapering from the middle to the ends, which are held together by the finer portion being bent back, and then tightly bound round the thicker parts. This fine and rare specimen is much like one given in illustration of sir William Betham's paper on the ring-money of the Celtæ, in the *Transactions* of the Royal Irish Academy. The fifth bracelet is of exceeding rarity, and may perhaps be unique. It is formed of a round bar of silver, which, like the others, decreases from the centre to the ends, one of which is turned up as a hook, the other bent round into a link, upon which swings a little flat bar pierced towards the end to go over the hook just mentioned.

“From these Hiberno-Celtic remains we pass to a specimen said to have been exhumed in England. It is an armlet formed of a single bar of silver beaten flat, the broad surface being stamped with three bands of stars, or cross, the middle consisting of twenty-four, the marginal of twenty-two stars. At either end of these is a group of perpendicular bands followed by a large cross, and this again by three more perpendicular bands. This curious specimen is affirmed to have been found near Oxford. It is, beyond all question, of Danish origin, and may have been brought hither by the ‘men of Lochlyn’, when they overran and ravaged

the country during the tenth century, though the aspect of the armlet would suggest a rather earlier date as the period of its fabrication.

"This costly assemblage of ornaments closes with a pair of Eastern bracelets of early date. They are of silver, of massive fabric, and bold and elegant design. They have reeded convex centres, with broad ovate sides, the upper part of each being adorned with a large papillous boss wrought with flowers, the field being filled in with blue and light green enamel: the centres of each end are also wrought and enameled, and surrounded by prominent bosses.

"I cannot conclude this enumeration of Mr. Forman's specimens without expressing my regret that so little is now known respecting the places whereat these several objects were discovered,—a circumstance the more astonishing when we consider their historic importance, their extraordinary character, great rarity, and the intrinsic value of their material. But perhaps their real value has contributed to throw a mystery about them, the finders fearing that if the truth were divulged, they might lose their spoils; and thus often are we deprived of many an important fact more precious in the eyes of an archæologist than the gold of Ophir and shining ore of Tarshish."

The following paper, by Mr. H. Syer Cuming, was then read:

"ON CROMWELLIAN RELICS.

"It is the happy privilege of the archæologist that he may descant upon the most delicate party subjects without the reproach of partizanship. Blois and Plantagenet, king and baron, Lollard and Tramontanist, the lady Jane and the lady Mary, are as one to him,—mere items in the national annals. He may dwell on the White Rose or on the Red Rose without declaring for either York or Lancaster. Tudor and Stuart are of equal interest to him. He appears not as the champion or accuser of either Cavalier or Roundhead, Covenanter or Fifth-Monarchy man. He stands neutral and unswayed amid contests and cabals, fearlessly delving into the secrets of courts and camps, dragging to light the plots of factions and the intrigues of party: his sole end and object being to fill up the historic blank, to record the new-found fact, to accumulate and chronicle the forgotten mementos of those who 'lived and moved and had their being' in ages long since fled.

"At the Congress held in 1855, in the Isle of Wight, I was permitted to offer some remarks upon the relics of Charles I; and I now beg to call your attention to those of his rival and destroyer, Oliver Cromwell,—a name which possessed more than a common interest for us whilst assembled at the late Congress in Somersetshire, where the Parliamentarians played so memorable a part upon the fields of Lansdown and Aller Moor, of Nettlecomb and Taunton, and around the walls of Nunny, of Dunster, and of Bridgwater. But as we advance towards the considera-

tion of our subject, what a different aspect does it present to that which engaged our previous attention. While the relics of Charles are scattered far and wide, and are to be met with in every corner of the country cherished with the fondest reverence, those of Cromwell have been little heeded, and are, in fact, all but unknown; and the most diligent and unwearied search through wardrobes and armouries, books and cabinets, have well nigh failed in bringing any to light. With the king, we find relics from his birth and christening to his death, and beyond his death; but the few relics of the regicide which have escaped destruction seem to be disconnected with any special events in his stormy career, though the most important of those which have been preserved, are, as might well be expected, of a military character.

"The late sir Ashton Lever possessed the helmet, gorget, armour for the body and left arm, and buff doublet, of Cromwell. They were presented by a descendant of general Disbrowe (Cromwell's brother-in-law) to Mr. Busby, and by him given to sir Ashton, at the sale of whose collection, in 1806, they constituted lot 3,901, and were purchased by Mr. Bullock for the sum of £5. 5s. 'A piece of Oliver Cromwell's armour' was formerly in the museum of Mr. Peter Dick of Sloane-street; and the late Mr. Louthembourg had another of Cromwell's helmets. The skull-cap and umbril are described as of steel, the oreillets and neck defence being composed of thick quilting, and the whole helmet covered with a sort of grey stuff. This was exhibited at the Gothic Hall, Pall Mall, in 1820. W. Etty, the celebrated Royal Academician, mentions 'the saddle and pistols of Cromwell' being preserved and shewn to him at Newborough House (Yorkshire), the seat of the Belasyse family. At the protector's death they passed into the possession of his third daughter, Mary, who married Thomas Belasyse, viscount Fauconberg, and are therefore to be regarded as genuine relics.

"There are still preserved at Farnley Hall, near Otley, Yorkshire, a few items which undoubtedly belonged to the protector. Amongst them is a drab hat with an enormous brim, and a double-edged sword with a single guard. One of the rarities at Don Saltero's Coffee House, in Chelsea, was Oliver Cromwell's broadsword; and the sword which he is said to have used at the siege of Drogheda (10th Sept., 1649) may now be seen in the museum of the United Service Institution, to which it was presented by J. S. Simmons Smith, esq., a collateral descendant of the protector. It is a basket-hilted, cut-and-thrust sword, the blade being battered in two places by musket balls. A very singular sword is figured and described in the *Gent. Mag.* for May 1790, p. 412, and March 1793, p. 209, which, if it belonged not to Cromwell, was certainly made in his honour, and therefore demands mention. It is a falchion with steel guard wrought with a griffin's head, and gilt, the grip being covered with shagreen bound with silver thread, and measures, from hilt to point,

two feet three inches and a half. The blade is two inches broad, and has on both sides ANNO 1652, and between the date and hilt, on the right side, across the blade, SPES MEA EST DEO; next, a full-faced bust within an oval, inscribed OLIVER CROMWELL. PRO. PARLIAM. ANG. PER. F. E. G. GENERAL; and beneath the bust, 1652; next, across the blade, VINCERE AVT MORI; and between this and the hilt, an equestrian figure in full armour. On the left side of the blade, next the date, SOLI DEO GLORIA; then the bust with inscription, followed by FIDE, SED CVI VIDE, across the blade; and next the hilt, the mounted warrior as before. This curious falchion was once the property of the Whitmores, of Thirstaston in Wirral, Cheshire; and in 1793 was in the possession of George Berks, esq., of Mold, Flintshire, who was connected by marriage with the Whitmores.

"From these memorials of strife let us now turn to others of a more peaceful aspect. In Mr. Mayer's museum, at Liverpool, is a pair of leather boots which are said to have belonged to Cromwell, and to have been brought from one of his residences. And in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland is a large silver shoe-buckle, which is stated to have been worn by Cromwell at the battle of Dunbar, September 3, 1650. In our *Journal* (iii, 335) is described a brooch which is said to have belonged to Oliver Cromwell, in the possession of Mrs. Inigo Thomas, of Ratton, one of his collateral descendants. On it are the words 'Amor envoye solaes & ioye'; the back bearing a quatrefoil alternately with the letter S. And what is believed to be the protector's ring was found in 1824, in a field at Enderby, a village four miles from Leicester. It is of pure gold, very massive, with a diamond, cut pointedly, set between two rubies, with the initials O. C. on each side the rubies, and the motto, 'For the cause', engraved within the ring.¹

"Cromwell, like other notables, seems to have had a large assortment of watches, if all that are assigned to him were really his property. Oliver Cromwell's watch used to be exhibited in the British Museum.² A repeater watch made by Jacques Cartier, believed to have belonged to Cromwell, is still preserved among his relics at Farnley Hall, Yorkshire; and in the collection of our late lamented president, Ralph Bernal, esq., was a silver watch, made by J. Bock, which is said to have been given by Cromwell to one of the Whalley family. It is of a round form, and richly engraved in scrolls and flowers.

"A pocketbook, stated to have belonged to Cromwell, was sold on February 14th, 1855, at the rooms of Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson. It is of leather, embroidered with gold and silver tissue, with a gold clasp, and under the flap is inscribed, in the protector's own hand,

¹ See *Gent. Mag.*, July 1824, p. 69.

² What has become of this watch? Those who well remember it, describe of an oval form, with catgut instead of chain.

'Verellŷe, Lord, thy wages are juŷte.' A far more curious and undoubted relic of the protector is his pocket Bible, now in the poŷŷeŷŷion of the earl of Chicheŷter, who is a deŷcendant, in an indirect line, from Cromwell. The Bible is the edition of 1645, printed for the 'aŷŷigneŷŷ of Robert Barker', and plainly bound, for portability, in four thin volumes. Cromwell's autograph occurs but once, and that at the beginning of the third volume, 'O. C^{al}, 1645, Qui ceŷŷat eŷŷe melior, ceŷŷat eŷŷe bonus.' This Bible, after the protector's death, ŷeems to have paŷŷed into the hands of his ŷon-in-law, for in each volume is written 'Lord Fauconberg, hiŷ booke, 1677.'

"In Mr. Mayer's muŷeum is a cocoa-nut cup, mounted in ŷilver, affirmed to have belonged to Cromwell. And at one of our evening meetings (Feb. 13, 1856) our aŷŷociate, Mr. Eaton, exhibited a ŷilver goblet, which, according to tradition, was uŷed by Cromwell at an entertainment given to him at Swanŷea. It is very richly chaŷed with flowers and grapes, and a ŷeated figure ŷmoking a pipe; and on front is graven a portcullis, the arms of Swanŷea. The chaŷings are certainly not earlier than the reign of George III, but the goblet may be of the age of the protector, and may have been uŷed by him.

"Cromwell was ŷeized with hiŷ laŷt illneŷŷ whileŷt at Hampton-court, and was thence removed to Whitehall, where he died, Friday, 3rd of September, at three o'clock in the afternoon; 'though,' ŷays an old writer, 'diverŷ rumourŷ were ŷpread, that he was carried away in the tempeŷt the day before.'¹ The ŷame writer ŷtates, that though Cromwell's body was 'embalmed and filled with aromatick odourŷ, and wrapt in cere-cloath ŷix double, in an inner-ŷheet of lead, and a ŷtrong wooden coffin; yet it raiŷed ŷuch a noyŷome ŷtink, that they were forced to bury him out of hand.' We learn from the ŷame ŷource, that 'a coffin was on the 26th of September, about ten at night, privately removed from White-hall in a mourning-herŷe, attended by hiŷ domeŷtic ŷervantŷ, to Somerŷet-houŷe, where it remained in private for ŷome dayŷ, till all thingŷ were in readineŷŷ for publick view; which being accompliŷhed, hiŷ effigieŷ was with great ŷtate and magnificence expoŷed openly, multitudes daily flocking to ŷee the ŷight.'² The 'waxen picture of the Protector, with a crown on hiŷ head, a ŷword by hiŷ ŷide, a globe and ŷceptre in hiŷ handŷ—laid in an open chariot, covered all over with black-velvet,

¹ It was a common belief that Cromwell ŷold hiŷŷelf to the devil, and that hiŷ time was up on the 3rd of September, 1658. See a curious tract entitled a "True and faithful Narrative of Oliver Cromwell's Compact with the Devil for ŷeven yearŷ, on the day on which he gained the battle of Worceŷter. Printed and ŷold by W. Boreham, at the Angel, in Paternoteŷer-row." Price 6d. Echard gives the ŷtory on the authority of colonel Lindŷay, an eye-witneŷŷ of the tranŷaction!!

² "This folly and profuŷion ŷo far provoked the people that they threw dirt in the night on hiŷ eŷcutcheon that was placed over the great gate of Somerŷet Houŷe." (Ludlow, ii, 615.)

adorned with plumes and scutcheons, and drawn by six horses in black velvet,' was borne with funeral pomp 'to the west-gate of the Abbey-church of Westminster,' and 'was taken from the chariot by ten gentlemen, who carried it to the east-end of the church, and there placed the picture in a most magnificent structure, built in the same form as one before had been (on the like occasion) for king James, but much more stately.'¹ The next relic claiming attention, is one of the escutcheons from the Protector's bier, or, as it is here styled, chariot. It is engraved in the *Gent. Mag.*, for February 1792, page 114, and was then in the possession of the Uvedale family, whose ancestor, the Rev. Robert Uvedale, LL.D., snatched it from the bier. It exhibits a crowned shield, charged as follows :—Quarterly ; 1 and 4, *argent*, the cross of St. George, *gules* ; 2, *azure*, St. Andrew's cross, *argent* ; 3, *azure*, a harp, *or*, stringed *argent*. In an escutcheon of pretence, *sable*, a lion rampant, *argent* (the protector's paternal arms), impaling, quarterly, 1 and 4, *sable*, three leopards passant in pale, *or*, spotted of the first (for Bouchier).² 2, *argent*, a fess between three cross-crosets fitchée, *gules* (for Crane). 3, *argent*, two bars in chief, three hursts (for Carnaby?). The party who communicated this escutcheon to the *Gent. Mag.*, states that it was then preserved in a frame, on the back of which the original owner had written a long account in Latin, setting forth how he had obtained it, and certain particulars respecting the Protector's funeral.

"Gladly would we close the account of the Cromwellian relics with this most curious escutcheon, but a disgusting decree of Parliament forces others on our notice. On December 8, 1660, a vote passed the House of Commons, ordering the disinterment of the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, and their suspension on the common gallows. On Saturday, January 26, 1661, Cromwell's and Ireton's remains were exhumed from their resting-place, in a vault at the east end of the middle aisle of Henry VII's chapel, and on the Monday night following, were taken in carts to the Red-lion inn, Holborn; and on the following morning (the anniversary of king Charles' martyrdom), were conveyed on sledges, together with the remains of Bradshaw, to Tyburn, where they were suspended in their shrouds and cere-cloths from the triple-tree until sunset, then beheaded; their trunks being thrown into a hole beneath the gallows. On opening Cromwell's coffin, there was found lying on the breast of the corpse, a copper-plate finely gilt, inclosed in a thin case of lead; on one side of which were graven the arms of the Commonwealth, impaling those of Cromwell, and on the reverse the

¹ The above extracts are from *A Chronicle of the Civil Wars of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. London, 1676.

² Cromwell married Elizabeth, daughter of sir James Bouchier, of Little Hambridge, Essex. Her mother was Frances, daughter of Thomas Crane, of Suffolk.

following legend ; “ Oliverius protector reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, and Hiberniæ, natus 25 April, 1599, inauguratus 16 Decembris, 1653, mortuus 3 Septembris ann. 1658. Hic situs est.” In 1773, this curious relic was in the possession of the hon. George Hobart, of Nocton, in Lincolnshire, and was exhibited by Mr. Willis to the Society of Antiquaries.

“ The heads of the three regicides being carried to Westminster, were stuck upon poles above the front of the Hall, that of the protector being flanked by those of Ireton and Bradshaw. Cromwell’s skull long continued a ghastly spectacle on the top of that roof beneath which he had obtained the condemnation of the king, and was himself with kingly pomp, and more than kingly power, inaugurated lord protector. What the ultimate fate of his skull was, appears rather uncertain. If we were to credit all that has been said, ‘ Old Noll ’ must have had more heads than one ; and have been, in fact, a sort of *hydra*. According to one tradition (the most probable) the head of Cromwell was blown off the pole on a stormy night, in the beginning of the reign of James II, and was afterwards presented to the Russell family, a member of which, it will be remembered, married the protector’s youngest daughter, Frances. At a later period, the *veritable* skull of Oliver Cromwell was to be seen not only at Oxford, but in several travelling caravans at the same time.

“ The memorials of Cromwell are almost as scant as his personal relics. His waxen image vanished from the Abbey at the restoration ; and we scarcely know where to look for any contemporary effigy of the protector. The bust of Cromwell, by Bernini, in the library of Sidney Sussex college, Cambridge, said to be from a plaster mould, taken after death and sent into Italy,¹ and the one by Edward Pierce (in the collection of Mr. Labouchere), executed in the reign of Charles II, are, perhaps, two of the earliest gliptic portraits of the protector in existence. His lineaments are, however, rendered familiar to us, by the pencils of Cooper, Walker, and Sir Peter Lely, and by the medals struck in commemoration of the victory at Dunbar, and on other events ; not forgetting those issued in Holland, some of which are neither delicate nor complimentary. Among posthumous medals may be mentioned, those by Dassier and Kirk, both of which display characteristic heads. But the most flattering portrait of the protector is that upon his money, executed by the inimitable Thomas Simon, in 1658, and which, in all probability, was the occasion of his disfavour with Charles II.

“ There is one other portrait of Cromwell which demands notice, from the tradition which attaches to it. It is in the museum of the United Service Institution, and is a three-quarter bust in armour, cut in

¹ A correspondent of *Notes and Queries*, of July 12th, 1856, p. 34, who signs himself William Bates, says,—“ I have in my possession a plaster mask, purporting to be that of Cromwell’s face after death. I was informed, moreover, that the mould from which it was made was taken surreptitiously from a cast preserved in the Tower of London. Is there such a relic ? ”

white paper by (it is said) his daughter, Mrs. Bridget Fleetwood. This or another similar paper-cutting, was once in the Leverian Museum, and formed lot 3481 of the thirtieth day's sale of the collection.

"The memoranda here submitted fully bear out the assertion, that the relics of Cromwell are few in number, and in most instances unassociated with the leading events of his extraordinary life. Nor can this be wondered at, when we reflect upon the anomalous position which he occupied. Detested alike by royalists and republicans, episcopalians and presbyterians, dreaded by the parliament, distrusted by the chiefs of the army, with little (if any) sympathy in the bosom of his family, or in the mass of the people; there appeared none who cared to preserve his relics out of love for the man; and at his death, all seem to have been dispersed, lost, or forgotten. We have endeavoured to search out and embody in this brief narrative, the few which have escaped destruction; for to the archæologist, who eschews all personal and party feeling, the relics of king and usurper, the fiercest tyrant and meekest slave, who hold a place in history, are of equal value. Nor is it alone to the archæologist that the relics of Cromwell are of interest, for who can contemplate with indifference, nay, without a thrill of awe, the memorials of one, whose very name was a terror to his age, and whose story will live in the traditions of the land long after the scroll of chronicle has perished."¹

A discussion in relation to various other relics of the protector then ensued, some of which will be noticed at a future time. Mr. Wilkinson, the possessor of the head of Cromwell, gave a particular account of it, and the way in which it passed into his family, and kindly promised an account of the same for the *Journal*. Dr. Lee alluded to the fine collection of Cromwell portraits in the possession of Lady Frankland Russell, at the Chequers, Buckinghamshire; and Mr. Pettigrew described the mask taken from the face of the protector after death, also preserved at the same place.

MAY 27.

JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected:

Rev. John R. T. Eaton, Merton college, Oxford.

George Berry, esq., the Park, Nottingham.

Mr. Forman exhibited an elegant Danish fibula of the eleventh century, stated to have been discovered near Oxford, in 1856. It consists of a stout disc of silver, one inch and three-quarters in diameter; sculp-

¹ Much curious matter respecting Cromwell and his coadjutors will be found in our *Journal*, vol. ix, where our Treasurer has given a most interesting account of a set of royalist playing cards of the time of the Commonwealth.

tured in low relief, with a graceful foliated mæander surrounding an octopetalous flower. The acus, or tongue, is also of silver, and nearly two inches and a quarter in length.

Mr. J. Clarke, of Easton, acquainted the Association, that there had lately been discovered, at that place, some coins of Edward III, Henry VIII, Elizabeth, and Alexander of Scotland. At Rendlesham, a gold crown of Charles I; and a noble of Edward III, in a garden at Blaxhall.

A report from Mr. H. Syer Cuming, descriptive of some antiquities exhibited by Mr. Forman, was read. (See pp. 339-341, *ante*.)

The following paper by Mr. J. Brent, jun., of Canterbury, was then read :

“ON THE LIGHT LITERATURE OF OLDEN TIMES.—MARY OF
NORMANDY.

“What were the literary amusements of our forefathers before the invention of printing, may, perhaps, be worthy of inquiry; their general occupations we know tolerably well. These were hunting and hawking, fowling and fishing; in the former two of which pursuits, the ladies not unfrequently joined. There were baiting of bulls, horses, and dogs, pastimes not confined to the lower classes; and, now and then, a pageant, or a tournament. Their literary occupations, however, must have been very limited, except in the cell of the recluse, or the study of the learned ecclesiastic; but how they amused themselves in their castles and moated granges, and old manor houses, during those intervals in which they relaxed from more active pursuits, is a consideration fraught with some speculation. There were deep drinkings, and inordinate feastings; in such excesses, men could not always indulge; intemperance could not be incessantly practised. The gentler sex worked tapestry, and embroidered couches and curtains; and sometimes wrought, *con amore*, splendid surcoats for some favourite chevaliers; and last, not least, with almost equal zest, dresses of the latest fashions for themselves. Yet the fashions in those days were not subjected to sudden mutations, although the extremes were even more marked and significant, than in more modern times. To woman, in the middle ages, we owe much of that beautiful product of the needle which adorned the walls of the castle or ancient mansion, concealed the rough stone-work, or rude plaster, and yielded by its elaborate workmanship and minuteness of detail, an appearance of art and refinement, in keeping with the elaborately-carved furniture, and richly-chased vessels of silver, upon the antique boards and tables. In those days, it must be remarked, there was but little beyond the illuminated Missal, too rare and too costly to be placed but in the hands of a few. Much time and expense were devoted to render these productions as brilliant and as costly as possible.

Not only were the title pages and headings of chapters elaborately adorned, but the initial letters were frequently wrought into little pictures, and worked with varied-coloured inks. The red was a predominant hue, and the word "rubricare" gave its name to a portion of the ancient Missal, the Rubric.

"Literature, however, did exist in a certain form, and one species of it, the metrical romance, was not only extremely popular, but must have absorbed a considerable portion of the leisure of the occupants of ancient halls and castles. These tales were of a similar kind to those which the good curate condemns so unmercifully in *Don Quixote*. Besides the rhymed romances, there were prose compositions, and short poetical lays and chansons. The acquaintance of the present age with this species of literature is practically confined to the learned, whose industry has overcome the obscurity and quaintness of the old Norman French. These productions, however, were popular in their day, and became the delight of knights and ladies. Our modern tastes may scarcely assimilate with some of these compositions, yet they were not without their merit; and, although their morality was not always to be commended, they yet breathed a spirit of chivalry, which exercised a softening and refining influence upon the rough, coarse manners of the age. Poetry was there also, in those days, as there ever has been in all ages, the rudest not excepted; for poetry is as universal as the great storeroom, Nature, whence it derives its most beautiful materials. Poetry, too, that will always exist, while there shall be a morning sun, and a twilight hour; heaven, rainbows, and sweet flowers, and a star at midnight like a full, clear, liquid eye of love, to look down through the shadows that fringe it, on the beautiful world God has made.

"Philip de Thaun and Maurice, and Peter de Creon, father and son, the latter being buried on the heights at Dover, as the recent accidental discovery of his tombstone has indicated,¹ were amongst the most celebrated of these minstrels. All of them, however, must yield to Mary of Normandy, a lady designated as the Sappho of her age; the beauty of whose lays and chansons, and the general interest attached to her life and genius, have marked her out in a prominent manner, not only as chief amongst her immediate contemporaries, but amongst all the Anglo-Norman poets, who flourished from the time of the conquest, until the period when the French language ceased to be the organ of the literature of the people of this country.

"Mary is said to have resided in England at the commencement of the fourteenth century. Normandy is generally supposed to have been the place of her birth; others, however, have inferred, from her knowledge of the Bas Breton and Armoric tongue, that she was a native of Brittany. Mary, however, may have acquired her knowledge of the Armoric, and

¹ See *Journal*, vol. i, p. 242.

the English language, in this country; although this supposition, as applied to the former language, is extremely doubtful. She was learned also in the Latin language, but we know little of her private life; it was veiled in mystery; even her family name has been concealed. Her earliest poems are a series of lays in French verse, which contain the adventures of knights, and are remarkable for their marvellous tendency. M. De la Rue considers them to be the largest, and at the same time the most ancient specimens of Anglo-Norman poetry, of this period, handed down to us. Some of the subjects of Mary's verse are taken from the literature of Wales and Brittany, especially from the romances of chivalry. Many of these she appears to have versified, at least so she states; not from having the manuscripts before her, but from having recourse to an excellent memory, after having heard them recited. Others, however, she says, she found, and perused in writing.

"For some time, the poetess tells us, she hesitated whether she should choose for her subjects, the heroes and themes of the Welsh and Armorican lays, or translate Latin stories into the Romance language. Luckily, she chose the former; and so struck out into a comparatively new and unbroken track; and to this choice she owed much of her fame. She treated of love and chivalry, of the emotions inspired by acts of valour; and this touched a chord that went home to the feelings of the age. She was one of the most popular of the Anglo-Norman poets; and even her contemporaries bore testimony to the pleasure with which her verses were heard in the halls of the Norman barons. The women of that period, we are told, deeply relished her lays, and listened with delight to the themes her muse rehearsed.

"*'Mary of Normandy,'* says M. De la Rue, 'described manners with a pencil at once faithful and pleasing. She seized upon the attention of her readers by the subjects of her stories, and the interest which she carefully blends in them. Her language was simple and natural, a great charm in this species of literature. We may regret that we know so little of the personal history of this fair poetess, delicate and refined beyond her age; the more so, that in a sketch which she has given us of one of her heroines, we can imagine we behold herself portrayed. It is true, this heroine comes from fairy-land; but is it not so even in this material world? every beautiful and loveable creature comes from fairy-land, to those whose affections she has gathered around her. Thus is portrayed the heroine of Mary, perhaps Mary herself:—'Her beauty is equally engaging and impressive; an immense crowd follows, but to admire her; the white palfrey on which she rides seems proud of his fair burthen. The greyhound which follows her, and the falcon she carries, announce her nobility. There is a melancholy sweetness in her face, which seems inspired from the subjects of her muse.' So might Mary proceed to, and enter the castles of our Norman barons, where she

was a welcome and honoured guest; and her fair cheek, doubtless, often flushed, and her light eyes grew bright at the praises lavished on her chansons!"

JUNE 10.

JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected :

Henry Karl, esq., 1, Hans-place.

Henry N. Scaife, esq., R.N., Brazil.

Frederick Webb Pettigrew, esq., 9, Belgrave-road.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

To the Archaeological Institute, for their Journal, for March. 8vo.

„ *Publisher*. Gentleman's Magazine, for June.

„ *Editor*. Canadian Journal, Nos. 7 and 8. 8vo.

Dr. J. Lee exhibited four rubbings from sepulchral brasses of the Lee family, in the parish church of Dinton, near Aylesbury, Bucks.

1. Standing figures of a gentleman and lady with their hands clasped in prayer. The gentleman is bare-headed, wears a long dress, and from his girdle depends a "pair of beads," six on each string, with a tassel at the end. The lady (whose head is wanting), is clothed in a long gown. "Pray for y^e sowls of Will'm Lee of Morton in y^e p'isch of Dinton & Anie his wiffe y^e which Will'm discesid the ix day of Octobir the yeir of our Lord God A. M cccc lxxxvi. And for y^e love of God and of oure lady to say a pater noster and an ave."

2. An inscription. "Pray for the sowle of John Lee of Morton, gentleman. The which John lythe buried in the parysch church of Seynt Olyffe in Silver-street, in the cite of London; and he died the vi day of Marche the yere of oure Lord, A. M. v^e and iii, on whose sowle Jhū have mercy, Amen."

3. Two figures standing with their hands clasped in prayer. The gentleman is bare-headed, wears a long gown with hanging sleeves, and has a gipciere at his waist. The lady is plainly attired and has a veil, or coverchief on her head, which falls over her shoulders. "Hic jacent Franciscus Lee de Moreton gen'osus et Elizabeth ux ejus . . . Franciscus obiit xxiii de Augusti, an^o d'ni. M.cccccc.lviii.

4. An inscription. "Here lyeth the bodie of y^e ladie Dame Elinor Lee wife to S^r Thomas Lee of Morton, K^t. Who had issue betwene them 24 children, & shee departed this life the 6th day of Aprill, 1633.

"Her children lost a mother at her end,
The church a member, & y^e poore a frend."

Mr. Temple read a paper on the subject of "Treasure Trove," which

gave rise to a discussion. Mr. Irving stated the law of Scotland on this subject, and the whole were referred to be reported upon at a future time.

Mr. Curle exhibited a knife-handle of the time of Charles I, representing a gentleman and lady in the dress of the period. It was directed to be engraved with other similar instruments.

Mr. Wills, in addition to the numerous keys which have at various times been laid before the Association, now produced six other examples. They are all of iron, and found at different periods and places in this country. The earliest is a curious little key exhumed at St. Augustine's-gate, Canterbury, and which appears to belong to the close of the Roman, or early part of the Saxon era. It has a very broad, flat-sided, annular bow, short broach, and somewhat S-shaped web, which may be compared in some slight degree with the presumed Saxon *cæg*, engraved in our volume for 1856, pl. 14, fig. 4. The next, in point of date, may be referred to the fourteenth century, and is stated to have been "found where old Christchurch Hospital stood." It is of small size, and has belonged to a coffret. The bow is annular, and the stem cut up the centre to form the broach, in like fashion with the one discovered near the new palace at Westminster, and exhibited by Mr. C. Ainslie, at the meeting held on the 13th of May. A key of the fifteenth century, comes next in the order of time. It was dug up near the Cathedral-gate, Chichester, and is curious on account of its bow, which bears a resemblance to an example engraved in the *Gent. Mag.*, for August 1786, page 632, and to one in Mr. Wills' possession, which was recovered from the Thames off Dowgate. It appears to be a modification of the trefoil bow of the previous century, the upper member being made straight across, instead of being looped. The stem is piped, and both the bow and web are of rather large size in proportion to the length of the key. Of a much more simple design than the foregoing is a broached key, of about the year 1500, and said to have been found at Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk. Its broad flat-sided bow rises to a point at top, and has a large round perforation through its centre. Its outline may be compared with Mr. Wills' elegant specimens from Bath, Southwark, and Colchester, referred to in a former paper, and with the one from the Thames, which Mr. Syer Cuming exhibited in 1856, and described in the volume of that year, page 124. The two latest keys are of the seventeenth century. They have the usual reni-formed bows of the period, and the stem of one is broached, the other piped. The larger specimen is affirmed to have been found in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, the smaller at the old church of St. Giles', Camberwell, Surrey.

Mr. C. Ainslie exhibited the key carried by lord Rochester, as lord chamberlain to Charles II.

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ERRATA.

- Page 18, line 9, for *vest* read *veil*.
 — 25, — 33, for *Marcellida* read *Marcelida*.
 — 26, — 14, for *impassable* read *impassible*.
 — 32, — 9, for *Brumfield* read *Brunfield*.
 — 39, — 3 and 10, for *halls* read *stalls*.
 — 106, — 6, for *west* read *east*.
 — 108, — 13, for *thirty-five* read *three hundred and fifty*.
 — 178, — 14, dele *see plate 21A*.
 Plate 24, for GROUND, read GROIN.
 Page 106, line 17, for *Bromley* read *Bunbury*.

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